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SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN
THE MIDDLE AGES



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1925



BY THE SAME AUTHOR

A HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM
THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX
SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN ANTIQUITY

SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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P R E F A C E

THIS part comprises the history of social thought from the fourth to the fourteenth century, and therefore of the Middle Ages proper. The heretical-social movement, which from the eleventh century onwards attracted to an increasing degree the attention of Church and State, is considered in detail. The story is brought up to the period where it commingles with the peasants' wars and the social struggles in the towns. These wars form the prelude to modern times and therefore belong to Part III., which comprises the last half of the fourteenth century to the outbreak of the French Revolution.

The first part of *A General History of Socialism and Social Struggles* has already appeared in English under the title of *Social Struggles in Antiquity*, and Parts III., IV., and V., which complete the work, will subsequently be published in English.

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SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I

THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I. THE ESSENCE AND SOURCES OF MEDIÆVAL COMMUNISM

THE Communism of Antiquity, as exhibited in the Hellenic speculation and experiments, was chiefly concerned with political and material objects. Plato's aspirations pointed to the establishment of an efficient Athenian, or Hellenic national State. At their zenith the Spartans pursued eugenic-social aims: to create a community of supermen was their object. The Greek utopian dreamers sighed for a life without toil; Virgil's mind was directed upon a return of the Age of Saturn; Seneca yearned for primitive equality.

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Ancient Communism and Modern Communism are alike in their aims.

Generally speaking, the eyes of both are fixed on worldly things. Consequently, it is incomparably easier for moderns to feel at home in late Antiquity than in the atmosphere of mediæval life. Ancient and modern mentality are essentially European—logical, rational, scientifically critical. On the other hand, the mental life of the mediæval world has an Oriental, irrational, and mystical strain. The religious thought of Orientals¹ is scarcely disturbed by logical contradictions and historical anachronisms; they do not scandalize it. The religious mind does not test the data of history in a critical spirit, or co-ordinate them according to time and space, or subsume them within a common theory. It regards them rather as forming a surface, beneath which metaphysical, divine mysteries are to be discovered. It does not take the Holy Scriptures literally, but interprets them allegorically and figuratively.

¹ The terms "Oriental" and "Occidental" or "European" are not taken here in a geographical sense; they rather denote the contrast between the religious and the scientific mind.

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The Occidental strives for efficiency ; the Oriental for holiness. The former aims at material success ; the latter seeks eternal values, and therefore easily falls a prey, politically and economically, to the former.

Mediaeval Communism was a social and moral revolt against the growth of private property and the temporal power of the Church, which tended to supplant natural law, primitive Christianity, and the Germanic communal law. Its history is to a large extent dominated by theological and philosophical thought, and by religious and ethical motives. The Communistic or propertyless mode of life was to be the means of curbing egoism, subduing evil, and establishing social justice.

The heroic struggle for Communism and social justice was nourished by religious forces, theological controversies, and spiritual experiences. Parallel and in sympathy with it proceeded a movement for making poverty the basis of a pious life. What was earthly of these reformers was often burned at the stake. Men sacrificed themselves and died the deaths of martyrs for the cause of evangelical poverty. Can the modern European

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grasp this without difficulty? Is he able to sympathize with such a state of mind? Hardly! There is, however, some indication that the world war and the social changes that have followed in its wake have stimulated a desire to know something of the religious, ethical, and philosophical world of the communistic monks and heretics.

The history of Mediæval Communism transports us into a world of social ethics and philosophy. Material things are often pushed into the background; the temporal appears as a brief, transitory image, and the spiritual as the eternal reality.

Christianity, which—humanly speaking—arose out of an amalgamation of Judæic doctrinal teaching with Alexandrian philosophy, becomes in the course of its evolution the heir to the mental treasures of Antiquity.

The collective thought of Antiquity touching society, the State, ethics, law, and economics, which were not wholly opposed to or at complete variance with Christianity, were absorbed by it and remoulded according to its own individuality. Christianity developed into a philosophy

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in which religion was the prevailing ideology and powerfully influenced all conceptions of social life.

Mediæval Communism may theoretically be traced back to the traditions of primitive Christianity, the millennial hopes, the social ethics of the Church Fathers (Patristics), the peculiar doctrines of the Gnostics and Mystics, as well as to Plato and natural law (*jus naturale*). These factors did not emerge separately, nor do they exercise an influence proper to each of them, but were frequently intertwined with each other and produced a cumulative effect upon communistic aspirations. Throughout the Middle Ages, especially in times of social and religious crises, their influence was very considerable and largely conducive to the spread of social reform ideas and movements. The latter, however, were gradually forced from the centre of Church life to its circumference, to which they became merely tangents, as Christianity from the time of its alliance with Roman Power and the possessing classes under the Emperor Constantine (in the first quarter of the fourth century) assumed in an increasing degree the character of

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an organized State religion, which was dogmatic, official, and anti-communist. Social thought and social practice diverged. Regardless of the communistic theories to which theoretical homage was still being paid in Catholic literature, with the unfolding of mediæval life the tendency to legalize private property and to regard it as the only tolerable basis of associated human effort emerged ever more distinctly. This process, which was generated by intense thinking concerning the nature of common and private property, did not advance without friction and opposition, but nevertheless it was not checked. Those sections of Christianity which were unable to accept this transformation, and, whether for traditional reasons or for ethical motives or by reason of the economic interests of life, adhered to Communism, sought their salvation either in monasticism or in heresy.

The monks resembled the Utopians of modern times, who cut themselves off from the practical life of society and founded communistic colonies in remote countries, because they were unwilling to embark on a struggle against the ruling

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powers or because they did not believe in the efficacy of active resistance ; while the heretics may to some extent be compared with the Socialist and Communist rebels of modern times, who defied Church and State and made immense sacrifices for their convictions. There can, however, be no doubt that, from the standpoint of social science, the monks and the heretics were nearer to the social spirit of Primitive Christianity and the Church Fathers than were the ruling powers of the Church.

2. GNOSTICISM AND MYSTICISM

Apart from the influence of Primitive Christianity and Patristic literature on Communism, which we have already dealt with,¹ Gnosticism formed the second source of mediæval social movements.

“Gnosis” is Greek for knowledge. On the basis of this designation, we moderns might come to the conclusion that Gnosticism is synonymous with science. This, however, would be an error. Gnosticism has nothing to do with scientific methods of knowledge, as we understand them to-day.

¹ Cf. M. Beer, *Social Struggles in Antiquity*.

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It was not concerned with the sensual perceptions of the external world or with the observation of external objects and processes. It was equally indifferent to all intellectual (logical) expedients which assist us to the knowledge of the forces and laws of Nature, of the phenomena and actions of society and the State. Gnosticism is rather the doctrine of the inner life of man, of the metaphysical presentiments and aspirations of the soul, of the steeping of the entire human spirit in the mysteries of the working of that primæval force which men call "God," under the most varied names, as well as of the speculations upon the origin of evil and its strife with good in the world and amongst mankind.

Gnosticism was a religious manifestation and stood in a certain relation to Judæism and Christianity. Yet it was distinguished from the doctrines of the Church and Synagogue by the fact that it combated Church dogmas, laws, and regulations. In its eyes, the compressing of religion into the moulds of worldly organizations and their equipment with coercive machinery constituted a degradation, a coarsen-

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ing, and a trammelling of the spiritual elements.

The whole Gnostic movement was anti-nomian (against legalistic injunctions) and heretical. It was more or less dualistic ; in contrast to Christian theology, it held that matter had eternally co-existed with spirit and that evil had existed alongside of good as an original force and did not first arise in consequence of the Fall. Evil had existed from all time either as something passive or obstructive, or as an active force which wages war against good.

The spiritual motive of Gnosticism is the striving for an answer to the great question, which becomes urgent in all crises both in history and in the lives of individual men : Whence comes evil ? the disposition towards wickedness which exists in the world ? Whence the tragical strife of good with evil and the defeat of man in his struggle against the evil forces in mankind and Nature ?

Human life, individually and socially, resolves itself finally into a moral question ; a fervid endeavour to secure the victory of the spiritual over the material, of right over wrong, good over evil. All other

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individual and social conflicts : self-seeking *versus* commonweal ; egoism *versus* love of others ; profit *versus* social utility ; subjugation *versus* free development, are but expressions of the great struggle between good and evil. It signifies an intense effort to achieve redemption from evil, or, to use a modern phrase, the struggle for emancipation.

Closely allied to this question was the question as to the origin of the world. How did this world arise, which is the theatre of such a tragical conflict ?

Consequently, Gnosticism dealt with individual and social ethics as well as cosmological speculation. It was especially powerful during the centuries immediately preceding and following the appearance of Christianity ; both the Rabbis (in the Talmud) and the Church Fathers disputed with it, as from the standpoint of both Judæism and Christianity Gnosticism is a heresy. In the later Middle Ages, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, it broke out again with renewed vigour, and became the philosophy of the heretical-communistic sects.

Of the records of Gnosticism only frag-

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ments remain to us, mostly in the writings of the Church Fathers and of the mediæval inquisitors, who quoted various extracts from these records to contradict them and assail them as heresies.

As far as may be judged from these fragments, Gnosticism was a medley of Oriental and Neo-Platonic speculations upon ethics and cosmology.

A speculative tendency which consisted so absolutely of spiritual values and drove the intellect back upon itself could only form a cosmology which would seem fantastic to us. But in judging systems of thought, everything depends upon the standpoint from which they are regarded. To Occidentals, who proceed from matter and the senses, investigate natural laws on the assumption of unbroken continuity and causation, and seek for a world order which secures happiness, every system of thought which was chiefly constructed out of the life of the soul, out of introspection, would seem fantastic. To the Oriental, on the other hand, who starts with the spiritual and strives for redemption from evil, every modern, scientific system of world development appears of little worth.

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The student who possesses the historic sense regards every system of thought with equal sympathy.

It is extremely difficult to describe the Gnostic system comprehensively, as it exists only piecemeal and nowhere assumes a unified form, and is often mixed up with magical and abstruse elements. In the following paragraphs I give such of the elements of this system as are most valuable for our purpose.

Gnosticism regards God as the primæval force, which in its process of activity pervades the Universe with its rays and operates in the All ; as the original source of Light, as the centre of imperishable brightness, goodness, and Love intense beyond all compare, whose emanations penetrate into the infinite All.¹ These emanations, however, weaken in the degree that they are removed from the centre. At each stage they lose some of their original strength. The brightness diminishes and likewise the loving-kindness. These stages are called æons. The inferior æons

¹ This primæval force, or God, was also called by many Gnostics the primæval man (Adam Kadmon), or the Father.

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tend to become more earthly, darker, more material (*hylic*), but retain the creative force which they received from the original source. It is these inferior æons that have created out of matter the world as we apprehend it with our senses. Matter was obviously in existence from the beginning of time, in opposition to spirit. The æons which created the world were called Archontes. According to another tradition, it was *one* lower æon which created the world, and as such was called Demiurgus. The world, then, was not created by God, the original source of light and of goodness, but by His weakened emanations. Consequently, this world consists of a mixture of brightness and darkness, goodness and evil, which are engaged in perpetual contest. The laws, commandments, and dogmas derive from the Archontes, or from the Demiurgus, and their purpose is to purge men from evil, from material taints and darkness.

Human souls are divided into three classes, according to their composition. One class contains more brightness and goodness, and is called the Pneumatic or

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“Spiritual.” The second class contains an equal portion of both elements, and is called the Psychic or “Soulish.” The third class contains far more darkness and evil, and is called the *hylic* or “Material.”

The Pneumatics are free from all constraints, laws, and dogmas, for the latter are provided by the Archontes or the Demiurgus as means of discipline, as aids in the struggle of the spiritual with the material.

Consequently, the Psychics are subject to the laws, with the help of which they can raise themselves to a higher plane. The *Hylics* are hostile to all spirit and all law, and are therefore doomed to be the prey of the lowest instincts, and to destruction.

The Jewish God, Jehovah or Jahve, was one of the lower æons. He was the Demiurgus. His people were composed of Psychics who were obliged to live under the Law until they were enabled to purify themselves from all *hylic* taints.

The impulse to redemption is the endeavour to raise oneself from the Psychic plane to the Pneumatic plane, or to subdue

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the material and to become one with the primæval Light. The means to accomplish this end are : the Gnosis ; the recognition of oneness with the primæval light or " Father," and asceticism ; the renunciation of the sensual, of wealth and possessions, of coercion and tyranny, as being the sources of egoism, self-seeking, and the subjugation of one's fellow-men.

Jesus was a Pneumatic, the Son of God or the Son of Man,¹ and He came to consummate this redemption. He recognized His oneness with the Father ; He was full of light and goodness, and freed all those who raised themselves to be Pneumatics from dogma, from the Law, and from every external constraint.

The antinomianism of the Gnostics was one of the sources of Mediæval Communism, for it was private property which furnished the occasion for most of the penal and civil laws, and most of the oppressions and subjugations. And as the marriage laws also were but the consequence of the Psychic and Hylic planes, and as the Pneumatics had risen above these stages,

¹ The Son of the primæval man or of the Father.

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they believed they might also set the marriage laws aside.

In Gnosticism, as we have hitherto considered it, the Divine, the Spiritual, Light and Goodness form the primæval force, the proper creative power, while the Material, Darkness, and Evil count as something passive and obstructive.

This is not the case in later Gnosticism, which may be traced back to Mani, a Persian religious philosopher who flourished about the year 242. According to Mani, a dualism of antagonistic and sovereign forces had existed from the beginning. God and Matter, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil constitute an original antagonism which is never reconciled. The struggle between both is unceasing. Man may assist to strengthen the divine principle by the weakening of his evil instincts, through asceticism, benevolence, and renunciation of wealth. How deeply the moral problem agitated late Antiquity is shown by the circumstance that the doctrine of Mani, or Manichæism, found many followers in the declining Roman Empire. S. Augustine was a Manichæan before he became a Christian.

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The idea that this world was not created by God, but by some evil power, was widely held.

This moral dualism, or the struggle between the forces of Good and Evil, as the Manichæans conceived it, is not a theory excogitated in solitude. It is rather the pessimistic residue of the political, social, and individual experiences of a thousand years. From the earliest times Asia witnessed movements of imperialist conquest and devastating collisions of the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Mediterranean Empires. She saw the rise and fall of Empires ; she saw good men going to the wall and wicked men triumphant ; she saw how brute force reigned for hundreds and hundreds of years, and placed its feet on the necks of the meek and peacefully-disposed. In particular, it was the long, victorious career of the Roman Empire which offered a formidable moral problem to the spiritually-disposed thinkers of the East. The triumph of Rome seemed to contradict the idea of a moral world order.

Not less perturbing and confusing was the condition of social life. The struggle

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between right and wrong, between slaves and masters, exploited and exploiters, poor and rich did not sway in the direction of goodness.

And the moral conflicts in man? How difficult it is for the good, the spiritual and the soulful, to bridle the evil, the fleshly, and the instinctive!

The whole religious history of Iran reflects this external and internal strife, the result of which was not calculated to justify optimism.

Formerly it was believed that Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), or God, and the divine beings formed, together with the pious men and all pure beings, a Kingdom of God in which evil was finally overcome. But against Ahura Mazda there arose Ahriman, a fearsome power which disposed of powerful resources and jeopardized the triumph of good. Optimism still prevailed in the Kingdom of God, and the hope was cherished of dashing Ahriman to the ground. Little by little experience showed that evil, like good, was a sovereign power, and that both were equally involved in an eternal struggle of nations and classes, in which it was hardly possible that the

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decision of battle would go in favour of good. The force of evil and wrong could not be overcome in open conflict. From worldly things man must flee, to seek refuge in renunciation and asceticism.

The moral dualism of Manichæism is the pessimistic sediment of the history, or the moral crisis of one portion of the East in the last centuries of the Roman Empire. That the Jews, and with them the Christians, did not succumb to Iranian pessimism but held fast to religious optimism is due to the prophets and the last and greatest among them, namely, Jesus Christ, who placed the belief in a moral world order on an unassailable foundation.¹

Gnosticism is also mystical. Both of these spiritual tendencies are characterized by the striving after oneness with God and by asceticism. The subdual of sensual instincts by the mortification of the flesh and the merging of the soul in the divinely-pervaded All are the dominant features of mysticism. The chief distinction between

¹ The world, it appears, has not seen the last of Manichæism yet. It is curious to note that J. S. Mill inclined towards Manichæic conceptions. (Cf. John Morley, *Recollections*, 1918, vol. i. pp. 108, 123.)

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the two is to be found in the conception of the Godhead.

While the Gnostics had a particular centre for the original source of all activity, the Mystic is a Pantheist and feels and beholds God everywhere. Gnosticism has a special cosmology and definite theories ; mysticism is almost purely introspective ; asceticism causes ecstasy in which the mystic experiences a disappearance, a merging of his corporeality, a melting away in intense blissfulness in the God-pervaded All. In mysticism all distinctions, all distances between God and man, spirit and matter, heaven and earth, disappear. All things are unified and deified. Its religion is a flowing-out in love to the Divine. It is unacquainted with fear or anguish or priestly mediation between God and man. It knows neither external punishment nor means of correction, as the whole master-and-servant relation between God and man is foreign to its nature.

The Mystic resembles the Gnostic in being the opponent of all external religious usages, theological dogmas, and ecclesiastical statutes : he, too, reveals the anti-

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nomian tendency and the inclination towards a communistic life. Both are opposed to external coercion, to tyranny, to war and murder.

For the Gnostic and Mystic, as generally for the spiritually-minded heretics, a life that is regulated by the precepts of Church and the requirements of dogma contains something of rank materialism and mechanical that curbs the inner freedom and turns it to dross.

Numerous Gnostic sects were either communist or inclined to communism.¹

3. NEO-PLATONISM. PLOTINUS

Closely connected with Gnosticism and Mysticism is Neo-Platonism. As the name indicates, it derives from Plato, whose ideas concerning the relation between God and the world have a monotheist and somewhat mystical character.

Plato was an idealist, that is, it was his

¹ J. Matter, *Histoire critique du gnosticisme*; G. R. S. Mead, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*; Th. Mansel, *The Gnostic Hæresies*; Wolfgang Schultz, *Dokumente der Gnosis*; Adolf Lasson, *Meister Eckhart*; G. R. S. Mead, *Mystical Adventures*; R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*.

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conviction that the ideas which are in our heads regarding the species and classes of things and the phenomena of this world are the real essence, the permanent quality of things, while the individuals (the separate things and phenomena) represent the changing and transitory elements. The ideas in our heads, therefore, are not merely concepts of external things and processes formed by thinking, but they are realities which exist independently of our thought and are anterior to things. The spiritual is the real, the original and permanent ; the corporeal, however, is only the subordinate raw material which is formed and moulded by the spiritual reality and becomes of significance only through its classification into ideas. This idealism was called *Realism* in the Middle Ages, and played a great part in Scholastic literature as against *Nominalism*, which regards the ideas as names only for the external objects.

In the light of this conception, it goes without saying that Plato held the Divine, the original source of ideas, to be the most essential and real part of the universe. God is the beginning, the middle, and the

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end. The human soul is a part of the Divine, and is inspired by a profound yearning to soar upwards to it like a bird. The Divine is the kernel of all things and the meaning of life. Man must love and cultivate the divine in himself and cherish the beautiful, the good, and the true. He who lives for pleasure will have only mortal thoughts, but he who thinks of immortal and divine things and cherishes them in his soul shall attain to immortality and supreme bliss.

These religious and philosophical ideas, which have many points of resemblance to Judæic and Christian theology, were interwoven with Jewish, Gnostic, and mystical religious elements in Alexandria, the seat of Hellenic-Oriental learning, and were worked up into a philosophical system which became known as Neo-Platonism. The best known and oldest representative of this system was Philo, an elder contemporary of Jesus, who was also a Communist. One of the most famous teachers of Neo-Platonism was Ammonios Sakka (born at Alexandria 175, died 242), from whom the Church Father, Origen, and the communist Plotinus imbibed

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instruction. The latter was the first to formulate the Neo-Platonist system in writing.

Plotinus was born in Lycopolis, Egypt, in the year 205, and was one of the noblest figures of all times. His teachings and his life formed a beautiful harmony. He united in his character the ascetic strictness of the Orient with the symmetry, the mildness, and the serenity of Hellenism. His intellect was equipped with all the knowledge of his epoch.

He mastered Greek philosophy and was familiar with music, mathematics, and optics. In his twenty-eighth year he first experienced an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. In Alexandria he attended the lectures of various teachers, but found nothing to satisfy him until he heard Ammonios Sakka, under whose direction he studied Neo-Platonism for ten years. Then he tried to reach Persia, in order to make the acquaintance of the wise men who lived there. But the confusions of war prevented him from achieving his object. In the year 244 he came to Rome, where he quickly found a wide sphere of influence. His lectures were attended by

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numerous persons from near and far. Men, women, and youths drank in his words. His erudition and noble character, his selflessness and affecting modesty made him one of the most esteemed personages in Rome. He was frequently chosen to arbitrate in disputes.

Dying parents appointed him guardian of their children. His house was full of boys and girls whom he educated and whose property he faithfully and economically administered. The sick turned to him for aid. Proposals from painters and sculptors to portray him were rejected. It seemed as if he was ashamed to live in the body. His verbal expositions were stimulating, suggestive, and inspired rather than formally correct and fluent. His comely and benevolent figure was invested with a special charm when he expounded his doctrines ; a mild light lit by his great intellect radiated from his eyes and held his hearers spellbound. Holding himself aloof from the politics of the day, he occupied himself, as a good Platonist, with questions of social ethics. In the year 263 he worked in Rome for the establishment of a communistic colony in a deserted country town.

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This community was to bear the name of Platonopolis (City of Plato). The Roman Emperor Gallienus (260–268), who also accorded complete freedom to the religious doctrines of Christianity, was favourably disposed towards the idea of Plotinus, but the hostility of the courtiers, the confusions in the Empire, and the violent death of the Emperor defeated the project.

4. NATURAL LAW IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The third source of mediæval Communism was Natural Law. To natural law appealed all theological writers, both orthodox and heretical, whether they worked for a religious and temporal order which was communist, equalitarian, and mentally free, or whether they championed a system of private property, limited by Christian benevolence and discipline, and a life directed by the precepts of authority. Natural law is the sociological foundation of the Christian conception of history in the Middle Ages.

From the circumstance that various conceptions of life and various epochs could appeal to natural law, the conclusion

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may be drawn that the doctrines of natural law are susceptible of various interpretations and modifications and passed through various phases. For how could doctrines which arose in late Antiquity be applied unaltered to such conditions as had developed during the Middle Ages? Could such events as the appearance of the Teutonic races, the establishment of the Kingdom of the Franks, the Crusades, the rise of the Italian towns, the growth of commerce and intercourse remain without influence upon the economic structure and its theoretical expression? Theoretical principles do not determine the social, economic, political, and intellectual development, but the converse is the case. And in fact we perceive that natural law has undergone significant transformations, according to the social relations of life prevailing in different epochs and countries. And it is instructive to observe how a transformation of social life can be inferred from every fresh formulation of natural law.

Natural law grew originally out of Hellenic soil, ploughed and fissured by social struggles, and its essence was com-

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munism, equality, and freedom, as described in the first book.¹

The doctrine found wide acceptance in the Roman Empire, and Roman jurists were influenced by it. As, however, Roman Law, by virtue of the private property structure of the Empire, bore an individualist character, it could not assimilate the communistic core of natural law. The doctrines of natural law, as formulated by Roman jurists, only contained the principle of the natural freedom of all men. On the other hand, the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church resuscitated the original natural law, without, however, recognizing it as binding. During the early Middle Ages natural law was mixed up with the ideas of Roman jurists. During the later Middle Ages, which were characterized by flourishing towns, commerce, and industry, we encounter attempts to justify the social order of private property on the basis of natural law. But those Christian circles which strove to uphold the old traditions of natural law and Primitive Christianity, even in the

¹ *Social Struggles in Antiquity*, M. Beer. Parsons, 6s.

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daily practice of life, succumbed to heresy or withdrew to the cloisters, in order to live a communal life.

Before we reinforce these general observations upon the evolution of natural law by some quotations, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind what the fundamental characteristics of natural law are, and the changes it underwent at the hands of Roman jurists and Christian theologians.

The exponents of Roman Law divided the entire province of law into three parts : Natural Law, the Law of Nations, and Civil Law. The first division is quite rudimentary ; it contains only few and indistinct traces of its Hellenic-Stoical origin. Natural law comprehended practically only those forms of activity which are pursued instinctively : the marriage tie, the procreation and nurturing of children. It was, however, admitted that all men are born free, and, therefore, that slavery is contrary to nature. No direct pronouncement was made concerning the social order and the property relations. But it was declared that the second part of Law, the law of nations, which arose

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out of the intercourse and clash of nations, had recognized or created slavery and the relations of trade and foreign policy (the Roman jurists, in fact, were of opinion that Law created the social conditions and formed their basis). Whence it is to be concluded that the institutions of the law of nations were alien to natural law. The third part, Civil Law, is the legislative apparatus created in each country either by the people or by their rulers.

More distinct traces of natural law are to be found in the Christian theology of the Middle Ages. The influences of primitive Christianity and of Hellenic communism were too strong to be cast off by the Church Fathers. Here the development proceeded on the following lines :

In the state of nature (the Golden Age, the Garden of Eden before the Fall from Grace) men lived according to the law of God and nature which was innate in them. They held all things in common, laboured in equality and freedom, without external precepts and regulations, without a State and coercive government. Genuine natural law prevailed. This was the original moral stage of the human race.

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It was succeeded by the second stage, which was marked by Covetousness. Man underwent a spiritual deterioration. Greed undermined the state of nature (the Fall from Grace). The Golden Age disappeared ; communism, equality, and freedom were shattered (the first human beings are driven out of the Garden of Eden). After the inner light of natural law was extinguished, man felt himself to be without guidance and lapsed into anarchy. In this first moral crisis of the human race Reason intervened as the deliverer. It pointed out to men the way they should go, gave them commandments (the Decalogue) and general moral rules, albeit not so artless and expressive as those of original natural law. Nevertheless, they permitted men to live in democratic freedom and equality ; they bridled the appetites, curbed greed and the lust for power, and prevented murder and war. It was the stage of the Law of Reason.

But even this condition, in which a reasonable order of things prevailed, was not destined to be permanent. As the numbers of the human race increased,

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and the difficulties in the way of obtaining the necessary means of life multiplied, covetousness gained the upper hand over the dictates of reason. Lust of power and homicide, war and robbery, shook the rational legal order to its foundations. A struggle of all against all raged (Cain killed his brother, built a town or a city-state, and introduced private property in the soil); the mighty exercised tyrannical powers over the weak; they appropriated the best land, houses, and other goods as their exclusive private property. Society split into a handful of rich and a multitude of poor. The world was filled with robbery and violence. To facilitate an orderly social life, and to protect the poor and weak, positive or human law was created. This law is severe in character. It does not contain a trace of natural law, and little of rational law survived in it. It legalizes private property and the conditions of overlordship. Yet it guarantees a certain protection to the weak and poor, prevents the war of all against all, and shields the fruits of labour against fraud and robbery. In the light of positive law, the State and private property are created for the purpose

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of mitigating the consequences of the Fall from Grace, and avoiding the extremes of poverty and riches. Nobody is to have a superfluity so long as there are men who lack the most necessary things.

Finally, it is the task of religion to temper the harshness of positive law, and to render the lot of the oppressed more bearable by Christian benevolence and restraining the mighty.

While the whole conception of Christian natural law is on a much higher level than that of the Roman jurists, in the course of its historical development it distinctly showed an attempt to justify positive law, that is, the existence of the State power and the class division of society. It goes without saying that the communistic sections were not disposed to share this conception, and to recognize positive law and the necessity of the State power and private property. On the contrary, they viewed this as an endeavour to adapt the doctrines of primitive Christianity to the interests of the ruling classes. We shall revert to these objections in a future chapter. Meanwhile, it is time to give some detailed references.

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5. ROMAN AND CHRISTIAN NATURAL LAW

The Roman jurists were especially influenced by Cicero, in whose writings a weak echo of the Stoical natural law can be detected. The great Roman advocate declared: "There is a law which is identical with true reason, and which is in harmony with nature. . . . It is eternal and unchangeable, and is the expression and the command of the divine authority" (*De republica*, iii. 22). "Nations and princes may make laws, but they are without the true character of law if they are not derived from the original source of law, which existed before the State was established. The greatest good is to live according to nature" (*De legibus*, i. 7). "Private property is unknown to nature" (*De officiis*, i. 7).

The labours of the Roman jurists are set forth in the *Corpus juris civilis*. This civil code was compiled in Constantinople during the years 529 to 534, on the instructions of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I.

It consists of four parts: the *Institutes*,

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the Pandects (Digests), the Codes, and the Extra Clauses. In the *Institutes* it is stated: By natural law is meant that which all creatures learn from nature; for this law not only applies to men but to all animals. It gives rise to the union of man with woman which we call marriage; the procreation and nurturing of children.

The law of nations is that which establishes a natural tie among all nations, and is equally observed by all. War, captivity, slavery, are contrary to natural law, according to which men are all born free. Lastly, practically all contracts originate from the law of nations, such as sales, rent, mortgages, loans, and similar institutions (Book I. Cap. 2, §§ 1, 2).

In the Pandects the same definition of natural law is given. The law of nations also implies the right to defence against force (Book I. Cap. 1). According to the jurist Gaius, the law of nations is synonymous with the law of reason.

These quotations could be considerably augmented without shedding new light on the matter. It is apparent that the Roman jurists excluded communism from

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their conception of natural law, although an exception to this rule is the jurist Marcianus, whose pronouncement is quoted in the Digests (I, 8, 2): "According to natural law all things are common to all." But the full import of this statement is not clearly enough brought out in the Latin text.

The Church Fathers and Canon Law had much more in common with the old natural law traditions. Natural law accords with the Biblical conception of moral development, or more correctly with the idea of the retrogression of the human race; for it has on its side the authority of S. Paul, who declared: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, in that they shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or excusing one another" (Rom. ii. 14, 15).

To this pronouncement of the Apostle Paul the Church Fathers and the Schoolmen appealed, and drew from it the inference that Christian theology might be supplanted by natural law. S. Paul is

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not very clear on this point; he might have meant the law of reason or the law of nations, but in any case he recognized that outside the written law there exists a natural law which is innate in the human race. Among the Church Fathers, S. Ambrose recognized natural law most clearly. He said candidly that private property is not an institution of nature. Nature knows only common property; she gave all things to all men; she created commonalty. Usurpation and greed created the law of private property (*De officiis*, i. 28). But, and this "but" shows the tragic cleavage between theory and practice, it does not follow from this that private property is a bad thing; the doctrines of natural law only require that the rich should support the poor with a portion of the goods which were originally the common possession of all.

The support of the poor is not a favour but an act of justice. S. Augustine, the disciple of S. Ambrose, carried on a controversy with his former friends (the Manichæans), who condemned private property. In opposition to them he

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averred that private ownership in itself was not evil, but the evil lay in passionate chase after riches, the accumulation of property, the elevation of material possessions over truth, justice, wisdom, faith, love of God and man, or even the placing of property on the same level as these ideal values (*Contra Adimantum, Manichæi Discipulum*, 20. 2). S. Augustine recognized that private property was rooted in State law and not in divine law, although this did not prevent him in practice from putting the State and "Order" above the divine law.

From the writings of the Roman jurists and the Latin Church Fathers natural law passed over into Canon Law (the Code Book of the exponents of ecclesiastical law) by the roundabout way of S. Isidore of Seville (born 560, died 636). This painstaking compiler, who was highly esteemed by the Church, collected in his numerous writings a portion of the intellectual treasures and historical material of the Roman Empire, and transmitted it to the Christian Church. In his *Etymology* he gives a definition of natural law, which is, however, entangled with the law of nations, and consequently

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produced much confusion. Apparently at that time, people were no more clear in their minds concerning the sources of natural law, or were unable to keep separate the opinions of the Stoic, of the Roman jurists, and of the Church Fathers, as the mediæval writings generally are marked with any qualities but that of precision. S. Isidore declared that: "Law is either natural, civil, or international. Natural law is common to all nations, and it contains everything that is known to man by natural instinct and not by constitutions and man-made law, that is: the marriage tie, procreation and nurturing of children, the common possession of all things, and the equal liberty of all men (*communis omnium possessio et omnium una libertas*), the acquisition of things which may be captured in the air, on the earth, and in the water, restitution of loaned or entrusted goods, finally, self-defence by force against violence." This definition contains, firstly, natural law as it was understood by the Roman jurists; secondly, the real character of natural law according to the Stoics (communism and the freedom of all men); thirdly, the essence of the law of nations.

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This confusion later caused the Schoolmen much brain-racking in their attempt to unravel this tangle of definitions, and to arrange the separate constituent parts. The problem was, If natural law consisted in the communistic equality and freedom of all, how could it also contain private property, trade and industry, violence and the employment of coercive measures ?

The authority of S. Isidore, however, was far too great for the Schoolmen to admit that he was responsible for the confusion: they were rather at pains to show, by means of interpretations, that the definition had a meaning that was not contradictory.

S. Isidore's definition of natural law was embodied in Canon Law. This law, created by the ecclesiastical authorities and jurists, is set forth in the *Corpus juris canonici*. It originated in the later Middle Ages and consisted of the *Decretum Gratiani*, an extract from the council resolutions, compiled by the monk Gratian in the twelfth century ; of a collection of papal decisions, gathered together in the thirteenth century ; and finally of later

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ecclesiastical decisions and ordinances. The *Decretum Gratiani* and the marginal notes of its commentators are of theoretical importance, as they are most closely akin to the spirit of natural law. A strong antagonism to the rapid growth of commercialism comes to light in them. With evident delight the commentators point to the natural law element in S. Isidore's definition and declare, "The common possession of goods is most sweet"; and they express the opinion that *mine* and *thine* originated from the state of sin (*Decretum Gratiani*, sec. pars. causa 12, quæstio I. cap. 2, gloss A).

The cleavage among men arose only from the division of goods which were once common. Separate property and slavery are—according to Canon Law—unnatural institutions, as they conflict with natural law. Gratian appeals to the natural law doctrines of the Church Fathers (*Decretum*, D. VIII. Part I.), whereby all things are the common property of all men. This principle was not only followed by the primitive community of Jerusalem, but is also the doctrine of philosophers. Consequently, Plato excluded private property from his

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Republic : the most just State. It is only the law of usage or conventional law which determines the "mine" and "thine" of things, as even S. Augustine declared that only by virtue of man-made law could it be said, "This villa is mine, that house is mine, that servant is mine." In Gratian's opinion individual property would have no place in the ideal or perfect conduct of life ; its origin must be sought in the lusts of the flesh, and its only sanction is prescription or Civil Law.

Gratian, too, beat the usual retreat. He would not go so far as to say that he who owns property is sinful ; but it must, however, be borne in mind that individual property is low in the scale of moral values, and consequently "ownership should be restricted to what is necessary to life." Slavery, too, is contrary to natural law, for originally all men were free from every restraint and control exercised by their fellows. It was sinfulness that first led to restraint and control of men by men.

Thus Gratian argued, in complete harmony with the doctrines of the Church Fathers, and especially S. Augustine. The

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question, of course, arises : Why is it that only the slaves have to bear the consequences of sinfulness ? Are not the slaveholders sinful ?

Such questions were asked also by the heretics.

II

MIGRATION OF NATIONS AND REORGANIZATION

I. TEUTONIC RACES

WHEN in the latter half of the last century B.C., and in the first century A.D., the Romans came into direct or indirect contact with the Teutonic tribes, they discovered in the territory beyond the Rhine social conditions which were partly strange to them and partly reminded them of the natural law ideal: it seemed that they had found there some vestiges of the original natural law. This was especially the case with the Roman historian Tacitus, but Julius Cæsar also was by no means without knowledge of natural law, although he was preoccupied with the problems of war and statesmanship.

Cæsar was the first great Roman general

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and statesman to describe the social conditions of the Teutonic tribes from his own observation. In his report upon the Gallic War, which he conducted (58-51 B.C.), he describes the Teutons as he came in contact with them in the course of military operations.

“ The Suebi are by far the largest and the most warlike nation among the Germans. It is said that they have a hundred cantons, from each of which they draw one thousand armed men yearly for the purpose of war outside their borders. The remainder who have stayed at home support themselves and the absent warriors ; and again in turn are under arms the following year, while the others remain at home. By this means neither husbandry nor the theory and practice of war is interrupted. They have no private or separate holding of land, nor are they allowed to abide longer than a year in one place for their habitation. They make not much use of corn for food, but chiefly of milk and of cattle, and are much engaged in hunting ; and this, owing to the nature of the food, the regular exercise and the freedom of life—

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for from boyhood up they are not schooled in a sense of duty and discipline and do nothing whatever against their wish—nurses their strength and makes men of immense bodily stature.

“They give access to traders rather to secure purchasers for what they have captured in war than to satisfy any craving for imports ” (*Gallic Wars*, iv. 1).

He further relates :

“The greater part of the food of the Germans consists of milk, cheese, and flesh. No man has a definite quantity of land or estate of his own: the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to tribes and clans that have assembled together as much land and in such place as seems good to them, and compel the tenants after a year to pass on elsewhere. They adduce many reasons for that practice—the fear that they may be tempted by continuous association to substitute agriculture for their warrior zeal, that they may become zealous for the acquisition of broad territories, and so the more powerful may drive the lower sort from their holdings, that they may build with greater care to avoid the

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extremes of cold and heat, that some passion for money may arise by the formation of parties and of quarrels.

“ It is their aim to keep common people in contentment when each man sees that his own wealth is equal to that of the most powerful ” (*Gallic Wars*, vi. 22).

In these descriptions of a highly competent eye-witness, it is true that the German tribes no longer confront us in the condition of unadulterated communism, but the natural law features of the gens and tribal organization are sufficiently emphasized : equality and freedom, simplicity and vigour.

The division of the tribal members into the strong and the weak could not have been of an economic nature, as Cæsar admits that equality of possession prevailed. The classification into powerful and lowly was, according to all appearances, to be ascribed to the degree of personal efficiency ; the Germans valued one another not according to the magnitude of their possessions, but according to the degree of their efficiency in administration and war. Moreover, this applied not to the Germans

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alone but to all peoples who lived in tribal and gentile organization. It was one of the characteristics of primitive society.

About a hundred years after Cæsar, Tacitus (born 54, died 117) wrote his *Germania*, which likewise forms one of the sources of German primitive history. He gives the following account of the social and economic state of the Germans.

According to the number of cultivators, the plots of land successively pass into the possession of all collectively, who then divide them among themselves on the principle of rank and worth. The distribution is facilitated by the wide extent of the plains. They cultivate the fields on the basis of annual changes, and yet there is (common) land to spare.

At the time when Tacitus lived the primitive communistic conditions of the Germans were in a much more advanced stage of disintegration than in the days of Cæsar. A close contact had been established with the Romans and the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Individual warriors had commenced to sell the booty they acquired to foreign traders. And the more the Germans came into contact with

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Roman civilization, the more rapidly primitive communism disappeared, the more quickly the tribal organization decomposed to give place to trade and private enterprise.

Earliest of all arose individual property in movable things and in cattle, then in houses and farms; eventually the land was divided, only woods and meadows remaining the common possession of the whole district, which were called Allmende. Even to-day in England the meadows are called commons.

At the time of Tacitus, administration among the Germans was democratic and based on the communal principle. The unit was not the individual person or the individual citizen, but the "gens," which was governed by its chief. It was held together by blood-relationship and primitive tradition. The gens protected each of its members, and the soil belonged to it.

The chiefs were elected at meetings which were held on certain days—at the new moon or the full moon—and decided all important business, including the questions of peace and war. Complete democratic self-government, voluntary tribal discipline,

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was the backbone of the social life of the Germans of primitive times.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Teutonic primitive society represented a very low level of economic and cultural development. Agriculture was still very primitive, and impeded by all kinds of primitive traditions, which excluded any sort of personal initiative. Consequently it yielded little. Technical progress was low : iron was still counted a costly treasure. The only handicraftsmen were the smith and the potter. Towns were confined to the left bank of the Rhine. The force of the higher economic and technical civilization of Rome finally proved stronger than the military preponderance of the Teutons.

It is true that the Teutonic tribes contributed to the break-up of the Roman Empire. They could not, however, take over its inheritance, and eventually succumbed to its higher civilization.

The army was based on the gens, and marriages were arranged by gens standing in reciprocal relationship to each other. The individual was wholly merged in the gens.

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After the Germans had become settled, several gens combined to form one district, which did in fact constitute a territorial unit, and was therefore similar to a modern district; but blood-relationship and membership of the tribe continued to be the distinguishing mark rather than the district inhabited.

And this is one of the distinctions between tribal organization of olden times and the State organization of a later epoch.

Primitive society was organized on the basis of kinship, and formed a community; later society was territorially organized, and its legal organization was the State.

We should not be misled into thinking that the words, kings, princes, and authorities, as we find them in the Roman accounts of primitive Teutonic conditions, have the same meaning as to-day. Kings, princes, and authorities were at that time only the chosen leaders of the free people; they were the democratic administrators or leading members of the tribes and districts.

At the height of their triumph over the Roman Empire, the Teutons gazed with amazement upon the all-embracing State

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organization, the technique, the whole economic and intellectual life of the Roman world, and did not know what to do with it.

The general westward pressure of the Teutons was not, and could not have been, directed by any plan. Great historical undertakings are generally not the result of consciously contrived projects, but the consequence of elementary movements. Success in such events falls only to those peoples who, when once the movements are set on foot, possess the men and the intellectual strength to turn events in their favour, to master them and render them subservient to their aims.

By the very nature of their stage of development the Teutonic tribes were well able to produce great warriors, but were devoid of the organizing capacity and the superior intellectual forces which would have enabled them to push the Romans, the heirs of the whole political and intellectual civilization of the ancient world, into the background, and to found a Teutonic world empire. Tribal organization is decentralized; it lacks both the organ of supervision and the resources that are necessary to govern an extensive territory.

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The forward-pressing force was the migration of nations. It arose either in consequence of sharp climatic changes in Central Asia or in consequence of the imperialist Chinese efforts at expansion in the second century, which no longer allowed the Central Asiatic peoples to support life. From the steppes of Asia, nomadic or settled tribes drifted westward. One billow pressed on another until they reached the eastern and western Goths on the lower Dnieper and the lower Danube. The Goths were the Teutonic tribes which had trekked farthest East; they are perhaps identical with the Scyths mentioned by Greek historians. They were set moving in a westerly and south-westerly direction, and pressed on their Slav neighbours and on the Roman Empire. Close behind them followed the Huns, whose passage, however, formed only an episode. After the Goths, the Roman Empire felt the impact of the Vandals, the Suevi, Burgundians, Franks, and Alemanns; in the year 410 the Western Goths took Rome.

But none of the Teutonic tribes designed a comprehensive plan for the domination of the Roman Empire. Their decentraliza-

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tion and their division allowed them only to cut off pieces from the Empire, and to establish precarious States, as the Western Goths in Southern Gaul and Spain (417-711), the Vandals in North Africa (429-534), the Ostro Goths in Italy (493-553), the Lombards in Italy. The greatest political achievement was that of the Franks, who founded the Frankish Empire, which united most of the Latins and Teutons, but in spite of an enormous temporary display of Teutonic energy, was not permanent, and fell far short of the unity and governmental capacity exhibited in the Roman Empire. It arose at the end of the fifth century, and collapsed in 843 (by the Treaty of Verdun). Its most prominent figure was Charlemagne (768-814). But everywhere the Teutonic tribes paid for their victory with the dissolution of their old tribal organization, their traditions and customs—in short, with submission to Roman conditions of civilization. Rome's class divisions, mode of production, conduct of life, were gradually assimilated by the Teutonic victors.

But the Roman conditions of civilization suffered severely from the decay of

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Imperial power, the confusions of the migrations of peoples, the eruptions and wars of the Teutons and Huns, as well as from the Teutonic attempts at reorganization. The population of the towns considerably decreased ; the retrogression and devastation of the towns signified the decay of industrial technique, of trade, and of commerce. Western Europe lapsed into primitive modes of production, which were no longer conducted on the basis of common labour and democratic administration, but on the basis of Feudalism and peasant economy, within the framework of the authoritarian State.

The social reorganization of Europe in the Middle Ages was the result of an historical compromise between Primitive Christian social ethics, Teutonic communal law, and Roman private property law.

In the early Middle Ages the democratic and collective character of economy was not entirely supplanted, as natural economy still checked the development of the egoistic instincts of private property. The structure of Teutonic-Roman society between the fifth and the tenth centuries was somewhat as follows.

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It consisted of village communities and manorial demesnes. The soil, which at that time was the chief source of life, was cultivated by peasants, who lived on small properties which were adequate to maintain a family of from five to eighteen persons.

Each possession included the farm and an adjacent garden, and carried with it an inalienable hereditary right to use a portion of the arable land situated in the commune, which was cultivated according to common traditional rules, and lastly, the usufruct rights over forest and meadow, including fishing and hunting.

This peasant domain was called the Hide, and comprised some 15 to 18 hectares. It was partly private property, and partly co-operative March property. But the peasant no longer enjoyed external freedom. He was obliged to render statute labour at specific times to the landlord. Moreover, it was not certain who was the rightful lord of the demesnes. The peasants thought these lands were their common property. On the other hand, the landlords, by virtue of Romanized Feudal Law, claimed all the land

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situated within their domains. The question was finally decided by force, and the feudal lords were the stronger. From this cause the peasant wars originated at a later date.

Conditions of primitive communism persisted among the Scots, the Irish, and the Eastern Slavs longer than in the Teutonic-Roman centres of civilization.

The handicrafts and the arts were appendages to the feudal domain. Only gradually did the handicraftsmen achieve independence from feudal servitude and clustered together with the merchants in the rising towns, where they organized themselves in guilds and corporations.

2. THE CHURCH

Wonderful was the victorious march of the Christian faith in the first centuries. The inner religious and moral life of a small and despised people, the few ideas which had their origin in the labours of poor handworkers and fishermen, exercised an irresistible spell on all who came in close contact with them. Christianity was the claim of the social ethics, but it was also

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the language of a soul who recognized the vanity and futility of Imperialist power and ambition, and rejected them in order to heap up treasure in heaven. And the language was understood by those who had lived under and suffered from the economic and spiritual oppression of Roman domination and Roman rapacity. The performances of the last dictators of Republican Rome, of the new Cæsars, the Proconsuls, and the financial magnates at that time formed the high-water mark of all that could be achieved with political, mechanical, and materialistic means.

And yet Virgil and Seneca and Tacitus yearned for a life of simplicity and primitive virtue! "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" In these words, which are everlastingly unintelligible to the devotees of Imperialism and wealth, Jesus expressed the new perception which was beginning to glimmer in the souls of the best men and women throughout the wide Roman Empire.

And they sought out the little community which was spreading the new evangel. Poor and rich, high and low,

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free and unfree, gathered round the new doctrine. And as the community grew, so its constitution, its outlook, and its attitude towards the outside world changed.

The differentiation in such movements arises both from the diverse spiritual needs and the antagonistic material interests of those who belong to them. Many responded to the message and teachings of Jesus because what they strove for above all was a juster economic order, and liberation from external oppression ; others again accepted them because of spiritual needs ; they had lost the old religion and the old conception of life, and sought for new truths to fill the aching void in their hearts. To the first category belonged the simple Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman people, mostly illiterate handworkers and slaves, who thirsted for social justice. To the other category belonged the educated Jews, Hellenes, and Romans, who had broken away from the old religion and morality and philosophy and were seeking for new truths. The latter were scarcely influenced by economic and political considerations. Their education and higher

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social position soon raised them to be leaders, teachers, and exponents of the new doctrines. Their whole training and sentiments marked them out to organize and consolidate the new teachings from the theological and philosophical side rather than from the social economic side. The first-mentioned category regarded the communist ideal of life and the practice of social ethics as the chief thing. The other section was concerned in the first place about the exact doctrines of belief, and the philosophical and dogmatic establishment of the faith. The members of the first section were preoccupied with the idea of combating the mighty and the rich; the members of the other category concentrated upon polemics against the non-believers, the Jews, and the heathen, and for the doctrinal vindication of the new faith. The most outspoken representatives of this section were S. Paul and S. Augustine, whose intellectual bias was strictly dogmatic and directed to authoritarian organization, while the Greek Church Fathers, who were indeed the proper philosophical founders of Christian theology, upheld and defended the aspects concerned

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with the freedom of the soul and the Hellenic-communist traditions, albeit in most cases theoretically.

This gave rise to antagonisms which soon became manifest in the primitive communities. Then came the crises which the growth of the community rendered inevitable. Large organizations require a more complicated machinery than small ones. Further, numerically strong parties must sooner or later come in contact with the constituted authorities, when they either influence them or are influenced by them, or they react on and reciprocally influence each other.

Until the middle of the second century the constitution of the Christian communities was purely democratic and equalitarian. Their cohesion was very close. Community of goods or the practice of a social service and benevolence dictated by the heart, as a rule, prevented any sharp economic conflicts in the community from arising. It is noteworthy that the first officials in the Christian communities were the deacons who looked after the poor and the sick. The whole of the members, as far as they possessed

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the requisite qualifications, were eligible for the priestly office. They were called Elders (*Presbyteroi*, from which priests); the most prominent members of the Elders or of the Executive were called Overseers (*Episkopos*, whence bishop). The communities of that time were unacquainted with the distinction between clergy (elected) and laity (plebeians).

It was only with the numerical growth of the Church and its tasks, the education and leadership of the multitude of new members, as well as with the increasingly comprehensive organization of the simple Christian teachings into a theological system that the clergy became a special class, a spiritual bureaucracy, which was invested with greater power as the Church attained to importance and influence in the State. Then the clergy stood forth as a power: it was exempted from taxes and military service and released from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; it was entrusted with the supervision of the moral life of the laity, likewise the right to accept gifts and legacies.

The primitive Christian presbyters transformed themselves into a sacred oligarchy

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with privileges and special attributes: the small and persecuted community of poor fishermen and handworkers, practising piety and renunciation, became a powerful and affluent State Church with numerous priests in the villages and towns; with bishops in the larger towns, metropolitans or archbishops in the provincial capitals, and finally the Bishop of Rome as Pope.

A religious, social, and ethical community became a powerful and extensive organization of a political and economic character, which, in contrast to the early Christian communities, arrogated to itself the right to impose sentence of death upon those Christians who refused to recognize the Church dogmas.¹

¹ "The Christians soon forgot the principles of religious toleration, which they had so loudly proclaimed during the early persecutions." Demands were put forward to prohibit paganism, to restrict Judæism by law, and to punish heretics by death. The first heretic who suffered this punishment was the Gnostic Priscillian, who was executed at Treves in the year 385. This execution was generally deplored. Meanwhile S. Augustine was of opinion that it was permissible and seemly to apply corporal punishment to heretics. Pope Leo the Great (middle of the fifth century) himself assented to the execution of heretics (Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, 4th ed. vol. i. § 2, p. 237 et seq.).

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The Church gradually became very rich. Its income was derived from tithes, gifts, and legacies. Originally designed and expended as alms for social purposes, three-quarters of this property then fell to the hierarchy and the cult, and only a quarter to the poor. Finally it became Church property entirely, which grew and grew as mediæval conditions developed. The Church became the owner of a great part of the soil. At the end of the sixth century it possessed a third of the land of Gaul, and in the eighth century the landed possessions of the Church in the Frankish Empire was so important that the Carolingians confiscated a great part of it for political and military purposes (Schmoller, *Die sociale Frage*, pp. 102, 527).

Hand in hand with this material adjustment went a spiritual adaptation to the outside world. The original enthusiasm evaporated ; capacity for sacrifice became rarer ; devotion and renunciation gave place to almsgiving ; spontaneous solidarity was replaced by obligatory and prescribed service to the community ; the priests and heads of the Church no longer

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avoided intercourse with the State authorities, but entered into contact with them, and silently admired the civilization and the culture of the wise and good pagans. The converts to the new religion, who streamed from the most various sections of Roman society, likewise tended to break up the primitive Christian mode of life.

In the third century Christians were already found in the most diverse vocations : in the Roman legions, in the Courts of the Cæsars, in the official world, in business life, in the world of learning. Christianity found lodgment in all the pores of Roman society, and thence carried back into the Church the most various sentiments, opinions, and traditions. In this process of interaction between Church and State, in this series of compromises, primitive Christianity forfeited much of its old spirit and its ancient strength. This was patent to us when we were dealing with natural law : out of communism grew a movement for legalizing private property. The intermittent persecutions and martyrdoms purified the Church of all the unreliable elements, compromisers, and

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business Christians; but the storms soon passed, and the secularization of Christianity went ahead, to the great grief of the old comrades and the pious ones who lived in the traditions of primitive Christianity. They read the Sermon on the Mount, drew strength from the achievements of the primitive communities, and became discontented with the present posture of affairs. Back to Jesus Christ, to renunciation, to community of goods, to evangelical poverty! Away with the allurements of the world and of the State, which were undermining the true faith and distorting Christianity!

Out of these discontents, which here and there crystallized into opposition, first monasticism, or cloistral communism, and then heresy were born. Monasticism and heresy sprang from the same root. The former isolated itself from the Church and refrained from offering opposition to her, while the latter aimed at transforming the Church, and consequently adopted a hostile attitude to her rulers. As already noted, the monastic orders behaved after the fashion of the Utopians,

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who desisted from all struggle, left the State in peace, and only sought to organize a new society behind the back of the State: the heretics acted like the modern communists, whose object is the transformation and eventual abolition of the State. Consequently, the monasteries are treated as friends and allies of the Church, just as the modern Utopians—Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, etc.—stood on a friendly footing with members of the Government of their day. The heretics, however, were consigned to destruction by fire and the sword.

3. THE CLOISTRAL-COMMUNISTIC SETTLEMENTS

Discontented with the worldliness, alienation, and mechanization of Christianity by the political machinery of the Church, or filled with aversion at its transformation into a powerful economic and political organization with anti-communistic tendencies, earnest Christians in the latter half of the third century began to withdraw themselves from the world, to renounce all earthly goods, and to pass

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their lives in solitude, contemplation, and asceticism. The monastic movement became more pronounced after the alliance of the Church with the Emperor Constantine and the elevation of Christianity to the position of a State religion.

Prominent among the monastic pioneers was S. Anthony (250–356), who hailed from Upper Egypt. The son of wealthy parents, about the year 276 he decided to give away his possessions and to live as a hermit in the Egyptian desert. His disciple, Pachomius, a Copt, united the anchorites about the year 320, and on the Nile island of Tabenna founded the first cloistral-communistic colony, or, to use the Greek expression, *Koinobion* (from *koinos*=common, *bios*=life, communal mode of life), or cenoby.

The settlement consisted of several houses, and its founder laid down strict rules for its regulation: renunciation of private possessions; daily manual labour; common meals; obedience to the head (the Abbot); asceticism.

During the first centuries of monastic history, monks and nuns were not counted among the clergy, but belonged to the laity,

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and were at liberty to re-enter the world. Many of them lived in the married state. The cloisters were then merely pious, communistic settlements. At the end of the fourth century, marriage had come to be regarded as a lower state of Christian life. But even in the sixth century, married life was not a rare phenomenon among the cenobites. It was not until later that celibacy became an absolute rule of monasticism. The high value which was placed on asceticism, as well as the danger of cleavage to which communistic institutions would be exposed by increases in families, eventually led to celibacy being imposed as a rule.

The fundamental idea of the cenobite settlements was to hold aloof from all social activities and intellectual tendencies which predisposed men to worldliness and evil. The dangers to be avoided were individual property, greed, the family, the State, class distinctions, coercion, and force.

In North Africa, where communistic traditions were still very strong, the cenobite system, or the establishment of cloister-communistic settlements, spread

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rapidly. From thence it travelled to the Orient, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Cappodocia. In the East, people thronged to the cloisters in such crowds that the Emperor Valens (375-378) endeavoured to check the movement, but without success. Among Christian writers also voices were raised against the new movement, which was not unreasonably viewed as a protest against the Church. But as the cenobites generally left the Church alone, and as the ecclesiastical authorities themselves recognized the new movement to be an attempt to realize a piece of primitive Christian idealism in a peaceful and harmless manner, it was tolerated. The principal leaders of the Church, with S. Athanasius at their head, gave their assent and discovered cenobite models in the prophetic school of the Old Testament, in the Egyptian Therapeuts (a variety of Essenes) mentioned by Philo, as well as in the community of goods among the first Christian communities and in other features of apostolic times. Christians of all classes of the population, especially of the labouring classes, poured into the cloisters. At the time of S. Augustine

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it was mostly the unfree and manumitted peasants, handworkers, and other people of plebeian occupations who joined the Cenobiums. It may be accepted as a fact that the working classes then furnished the largest contingent of recruits to the monasteries. S. Augustine was notoriously suspicious of all popular movements, but he advocated the cenobite system, in order to check the Circumcellions, the rebellious and communistic agrarian population of North Africa.

The communists in the cloisters seemed to him less dangerous than those outside. S. Augustine was a great prince of the Church and Christian statesman, stern and unbending towards himself, stern and ruthless towards anti-dogmatists and rebels. Nothing for self—all for holy Church, in which he perceived the kingdom of God. When S. Augustine speaks of the holy Church, it is like hearing all the bells of Rome and Byzantium. His predilection for the cenobites and his hostility to the Circumcellions recall the attitude of modern anti-socialist statesmen who declare themselves ready to assign special islands and territory to socialists or com-

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munists for the latter to conduct experiments there.¹

The cenobite or monastic system spread to the West, where it at first aroused hostility and aversion. However, the monastic settlements found enthusiastic supporters in the Church Fathers, Ambrose and Hieronymus, who were still imbued with the spirit of natural law, and who favoured communistic ideas.

Cenobitic institutions (monasteries) arose on the islands off the West Italian and Dalmatian coasts, and likewise in Southern Gaul. The new settlements were without uniform regulations, and their members exhibited less discipline, less devotion to their ideals, than was the case in the Orient.

These defects and weaknesses were remedied by the great pioneer of Western monasticism, Benedict of Nursia (480-543), the founder of the Benedictine Order.

¹ We shall revert to this important question later, for with the rise of the monastic system the communistic and millennial movements ceased. It was only with the dissolution of monasticism and the attempts to reform it that the history of heresy in the later Middle Ages begins; the communistic and millennial elements were beginning to ferment outside the Church and in antagonism to her.

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He set up a monastery on Mount Cassino in the Italian Campania, and in the year 529 furnished it with a rule (statute), which in course of time was adopted by all monasteries. His rule was distinguished by three features: 1. Manual labour: the cenoby should, as far as possible, obtain all the means of life which it required by its own common labour; 2. Insistence on chastity: marriages of monks were to be regarded as invalid; 3. Members of the cenoby were prohibited from leaving it after they had definitely embraced the monastic life.

Good discipline and common labour worked wonders and contributed in no small degree to the reorganization of Western and Central Europe after the devastations caused by wars and the migration of nations. Devastated countries and virgin territory were cultivated. Later some cenobitic settlements became centres of instruction, archives of antique and mediæval literature. Monks laboured at copying the Latin writers or in compiling chronicles.

The cenobitic practice of production in common proved to be a superior economic

Rule
of
Benedictine
Order
Monks

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method to the Latifundia economy and the Colunate of the declining Roman Empire and the feudal economy of the Frankish Empire. "No wonder," writes Kautsky, "that the institution of the cloister rapidly spread through the Christian world, and that it became the repository of what remained of Roman technology and of Roman culture generally. Just as little need we be surprised that, after the migration of nations, the cloisters seemed to the Teutonic priests and landlords as the most suitable instrument for setting up a higher form of production in their lands, and that they favoured and often caused the establishments of cloisters. While south of the Alps their chief function consisted in providing places of refuge for proletarians and ill-treated peasants, their principal task north of the Alps was the promotion of agriculture, industry, and communications" (*Vorläufer des neuen Sozialismus*, vol. i. pp. 175-176).

Henceforth monasticism enjoyed wealth, education, and power, as well as the friendship of the ecclesiastical and temporal princes. The monks gradually ceased to be members of a productive community

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and became the masters of outside labour. Intercourse with the clergy and the feudal lords undermined the monastic virtues of renunciation, simplicity, and hostility to the world. The abbots were frequent guests in the palaces and castles of the nobles. Worldliness penetrated into the cloister and obliterated the boundary between the monks and the clergy. The ascetic features of early monasticism became rarer. In their stead were seen hearty and well-groomed men clad in monkish dress, who looked joyously out into the world. The cloisters were no longer filled with persons from the labouring and oppressed classes, but with scions of the nobility and the higher classes generally.

In the course of the eighth century the abbeys frequently passed into the hands of the nobles. They imparted a tone which was emphatically not of a monastic character. The monks who were discontented with this development became all the stricter in their renunciation and self-mortification, or endeavoured to effect a reform of monasticism.

An attempt of this kind was undertaken

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by Benedict of Aniane (774-821), which, however, was not destined to have a lasting effect. Most of the efforts at reform at that period met with a similar fate. The old Benedictine rule was forgotten, and "where a cloister passed entirely into the hands of a lay abbot, he often brought with him fighting men who settled their wives and children in the buildings, and profaned the place dedicated to prayer and contemplation by dice-throwing, carousals, and hunting" (Hellmann, *Frühes Mittelalter*, 1920, p. 91).

The ninth century was a period of general moral laxness. The Empire of the Franks was politically in a state of dissolution. The Carolingians died out. The Slavs, the Normans, the Magyars, and the Arabs invaded various parts of the disintegrating Empire; the nobles fought against the monarchy: the bishops, most of whom belonged to noble houses, sank to the position of political agents of their families. About the year 900, degeneracy seemed to have overtaken the Crown, the Papacy, the Clergy, and the Monks.

An attempt to reform monasticism which met with a certain measure of success

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proceeded from the monastery at Cluny (Burgundy), which was founded in the year 910. The rule was maintained on Benedictine lines, but was interpreted in a stricter sense. It required absolute renunciation of personal property, unquestioned obedience, and strict asceticism. Cluny did, in fact, through its earnestness, effect a reform in the cloisters, at least for one or two centuries, but it also drew monasticism into the orbit of European politics, as the founder of Cluny placed the cloister under the immediate protection of the Papacy. The connection of monasticism with the Papal See assumed great political importance from the moment that Christ's viceregent embarked upon a contest with the Empire for the supremacy of the world, and a Gregory VII, a character of heroic proportions, found himself head of the Church.

The precarious nature of the reform of the cloisters effected by Cluny was also shown by the ordinances of the Paris Synod of the year 1212, directed to the moral improvement of the cloisters. Among these ordinances we find (1) No monk may have property ; (3) The

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bishops must brick in all suspicious doors and rooms in the cloisters ; (10) No monk may have his bedroom situated outside the general dormitory ; further, all quarrelling in the chapter, all noises in the cloister, visits of female persons, and games, hawking, hunting, etc., are forbidden. (21) Two monks may not sleep in *one* bed, but each in his own, and in the prescribed clothing.

The futility of all the attempts at reform is revealed by the nature of the above ordinances. No wonder that S. Francis of Assisi, who flourished at this time, manifested no inclination to found a monastic order.

The subsequent history of monasticism belongs to another chapter.

To summarize the results of our inquiries so far : the Teutons and Christianity were the new forces which attempted the reorganization of Europe on the ruins of the Roman Empire. The basis of both was communal law and democracy, but both were influenced alike by the traditions of Roman Law, the Cæsarian institutions, and by the economic development. Thus this process of reorganization represented a

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compromise between communal law and private property law, in which the latter tended to gain the upper hand. The Roman inheritance produced a further effect: both the Germanic Empire and the Papacy considered themselves to be heirs to Roman power, and entered into competition with each other. From the ninth to the fourteenth century, secular and spiritual imperialism struggled for mastery. These two basic factors—the metamorphosis of communal law into private property law, and the contest between the Papacy and the Empire—form the essence of the history of the Middle Ages. Finally, the reaction to these developments and the attempts to revert to the old conditions and social ideals of primitive Christianity constitute the foundations of the monastic and the heretical-social movements.

III

FROM COMMUNISM TO PRIVATE PROPERTY

I. THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

DURING the period in which the Church teachers sought to mediate between communism and private property, and to modify natural law accordingly, society was based on natural economy. Private property in the soil already existed, but trade was insignificant and a monetary system had scarcely made any headway. The towns which survived from Roman times were depopulated and new towns had not yet taken their places. The Teutonic population of Central and Western Europe regarded the merchant with suspicion, often as a mere thief, when he sold his goods at high prices. Trade was severely condemned by the Roman Synod

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of November 1078, which was attended by Roman and Gallic bishops and presided over by Gregory VII. Among the resolutions (canons) which were adopted, the fifth stated that the business of the soldier and of the merchant could not be carried on without sin, and that no expiation was possible short of giving up these occupations.

When the tenth century was well under way, a noteworthy transformation set in. In the territory between the Rhine and the Seine, and likewise between Flanders and the south of England, a brisk exchange of commodities was going on, which was still more active in Lombardy and along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (in the towns of Italy and southern France), the old Roman centres of trade and industry.

The old towns revived and new towns were built. But there was lacking a sufficient supply of precious metals to coin the means of exchange, and to assure the triumph of the monetary system over barter. Most of the silver money which had been in existence until then had come from the Orient: from

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India and the Empire of the Caliphs. It was, however, inadequate for the new or reviving urban trade which was beginning to develop in the tenth century.

About this time the Rammelsberg silver mines, in the Harz Mountains, near Goslar (founded 920), were opened up, and they proved to be the richest mines in contemporary Europe. This wealth of precious metals provided the energetic Saxon King Henry I (919-936) and Otto the Great (936-973) with the means of overcoming the confusions of the Carolingian epoch, defeating the Hungarians, repelling the Slavs, building towns, and restoring the Germanic Empire. The whole urban and industrial life of Germany, France, Flanders, and Italy immediately felt the accession of new strength, and pulsated more vigorously. In the year 991 Venice, at that time the chief port for European-Oriental trade, concluded treaties with the Saracens ; nine years later the Croatian pirates were routed ; in the year 1000 Cologne had a London dépôt for iron-ware ; in 1016, German merchants were placed on an equal footing with natives in

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English courts of law ; in 1040 Bruges had become the centre of the woollen trade ; Flanders cloth was already world famous ; weaving spread over northern France, and was soon to provide the foundation for the celebrated fairs of Champagne. The exchange of commodities between East and West animated the whole social system. With the widening of the horizon, forces of expansion were set in motion. For Europe, the circumstances were more favourable than at the time of the old Roman Empire, as, thanks to the Saxon silver mines and the growing industrial activity of the towns, Europe was less dependent than formerly upon Oriental precious metals, and was able to achieve a favourable trade balance.

Soon, however, Europe was confronted with a new obstacle. The Seljuks invaded Asia Minor ; in 1071 they captured Jerusalem ; in 1076 Damascus. Byzantium, Europe's outpost of trade and civilization, feeling herself to be in danger, turned in vain to Rome for help, as the Papacy was then quarrelling with the Empire over the question of investiture. On the other

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hand, Byzantium succeeded in forming an alliance with Venice, which, as a good mercantile city, used the opportunity to gain a monopoly of the trade in the Orient (1081).

These political and economic factors furnished a great part of the driving force of those military expeditions into Asia Minor which are known as the Crusades. They assumed a religious form as the Papacy was then at the head of European politics, and as Christian sentiments and beliefs created the needful mass psychology. Religion was the dominating ideology of the Middle Ages. Experience teaches that profound economic motor forces, which exert a revolutionary effect at the basis of society, can only set the masses in motion and produce the corresponding psychology when they are expressed in terms of the prevailing ideology. In the Crusades urban-economic and religious-ecclesiastical elements were harmoniously commingled.

From the Crusades (1096-1270) Italy emerged as the first commercial power of Europe. The wealthy industrial towns of Lombardy became the centres of trade

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and finance ; the towns of Catalania and of southern France prospered exceedingly ; in all the centres of civilization in Western and Middle Europe the intellectual and material forces of life and productivity generally were raised to a high level. Scholasticism, or the comprehensive attempt to prove the truth of Christianity by logic and scientific methods, attained its zenith. Paris, Oxford, and Cologne became celebrated for their learning. In the towns, money economy gained the upper hand and with it private property ; even the independent peasants were drawn into the money economy, inasmuch as they provided the flourishing towns with food-stuffs.

Further, the struggle for supremacy between Empire and Papacy which filled the three centuries between 1075 and 1350, and which was represented by such potent figures as Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), Pope Innocent III (1189-1216), Frederick II (1215-1250), Philip the Fair (1285-1314), operated as a revolutionary force and tended to undermine authority. In a circular letter to the bishops in the year

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1081, Gregory VII declared: "Who does not know that kings and princes derive their origin and title, not from God but from arrogance, robbery, cunning, and murder: in short, from crimes of every description. Raised by the devil to a position above their fellows, their rule is marked by blind greed and intolerable pretensions" (Gregorii VII, *Opera, Patrologia Migne*, vols. cxlvii.-cxlviii., *epistle* 21). No republican or democrat could have written more strongly against the Monarchy and the State. On the other hand, the masses saw how the secular power made and unmade popes, and how in the course of this struggle the popes, the clergy, and the monks immersed themselves in political and secular affairs and lost touch with the Christian ideals of poverty, meekness, and peaceableness.

By this means the soil for communist heresy was prepared. Those who still adhered to primitive Christian ethics, natural law, and communistic traditions separated themselves from a Church whose chiefs were absorbed in political and secular affairs, and whose monks were

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seduced from their legitimate objects and degraded into being its tool. After the twelfth century, when the Papacy was at the height of its secular power, the communistic heretics, mostly consisting of handworkers, increased in numbers and combatant zeal.

There were, besides, men and women who were anxious to revert to primitive Christianity and evangelical poverty without breaking with the Church. From this tendency arose at the beginning of the thirteenth century (1208) the Franciscan Order (mendicant order), an order adapted to the character of the urban proletariat, which, although eventually absorbed by monasticism, produced eminent men who rendered scientific assistance to all anti-papal, social-reform, and democratic endeavours, taking a practical part in the work and making great sacrifices for their convictions. The extreme wing of the Franciscans was of all the monastic orders nearest in outlook to the communists.

Contemporaneously with the Franciscans the Dominican Order came into existence. This, too, was a mendicant order, but

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from the beginning it revealed a general disposition to serve the ruling authorities and to persecute heretics : in short, to function as police and inquisitors. There were laudable exceptions, such as Albert Magnus and Master Eckehart ; Campanella and Giordano Bruno, whose spiritual sympathies lay rather with the Franciscans. However, the above description of the Dominicans was generally true. In fact, it was the Dominican S. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) who, with the assistance of the Aristotelian *Politics*, whittled away the democratic-communist element in natural law and justified the urban economic order which came into being during the Crusades.

It may confidently be asserted that from the tenth century the rise of the town and its mode of economy controlled to an increasing degree the thought, the politics, the social, ecclesiastical, and moral conflicts. In other words, general intellectual conceptions were increasingly invested with town-life character.

After this general survey of the period between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, we will consider the nature of the con-

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troversies for and against communism, as well as the actual struggles and sufferings of the communist heretics.

2. JOACHIM OF FLORIS—AMALRICH OF BENA

As it manifested itself in various forms from the twelfth century to the age of the Reformation, communism, alongside of Manichæism, found theoretical support in the writings of Joachim of Floris and Amalrich of Bena.

Joachim was born in Southern Italy about the year 1130 (1145 according to other sources), and died about 1202. He was thus an older contemporary of S. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order. He was its precursor, and it was Franciscans who adopted and spread the writings of Joachim. He enjoyed a good education, made a pilgrimage to Palestine—it was the period of the Crusades—where he sketched the plan of his work. He then returned to South Italy, dwelt in a cenoby (monastery), became a monk and an abbot, continuously devoting himself to the study of the Holy

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Scriptures. The Pope encouraged him in his labours, and the Emperor Henry VI (in the year 1191) was also favourably disposed towards him. At Floris, in Calabria, Joachim founded an Order, lived a life of strict asceticism, devoted much time to manual labour, laid great stress on purity, made the beds in the cloister hospital, nursed the sick, and gave other proofs of his great humility and the scantiness of his wants. He enjoyed the reputation of a prophet. His chief writings are the *Concordia* (Concordance of the Old and New Testaments), a commentary upon the Revelation of S. John, and a psalter which treated of the Trinity. In the following paragraphs I summarize Joachim's guiding ideas.

The general condition of the world is corrupt. The mighty exercise power: their subjects are depraved. The priesthood has lost the perception of truth and rages against those who work for a revival. The Church has become worldly and has lost faith in her mission. The monks especially have fallen into a state of corruption. These facts afford an explanation of the devastating conflicts between

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the Papacy and the Empire, the triumph of the legalists, the theoretical controversies, and the heretical mass movements, the invasions of the Saracens which threatened Christianity. These dangers could only be averted by a revival in the Church. The revivalists must be Orders which revert to apostolic poverty and renounce all possessions and temporal power. These Orders shall send forth preachers to castigate not the subjects alone but also the mighty and the rulers. Such a mission is urgently necessary, for a new age is dawning, the age of the Holy Spirit.

God has divided the world period into three ages. The first age corresponded to the Father, who ruled His children by fear and made them serfs. Then came the age of the Son ; He reigned by wisdom and discipline. This age approaches its end. The Age of the Holy Spirit is at hand, when love and freedom, and individual and social happiness shall prevail. The Ages of fear and subjection, of toil and discipline are over. The third age will be a state of freedom, of peace, of toleration, of communism : the age of the poor and meek,

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without classes and social distinctions, without mine and thine (Engelhardt, *Kirschengesch.*, Abhandlungen; Renan, *Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse*; comp. Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, par. 86).

The writings of Joachim or extracts therefrom were known as the "Eternal Gospel," and were later condemned as heretical,¹ although Joachim regarded himself as a faithful son of the Church and sharply attacked the heretical-communist movement, and although his doctrine of the third age represented only another form of the ideas of the Millennium which were generally accepted in the time of

¹ In this connection the opinion of Renan is interesting (*Averroës*, p. 292): "The heretical movement of the Middle Ages was divided into two sharply distinguished tendencies: one was characterized by the 'Eternal Gospel' and comprised the mystical communist aspirations which had their source in Joachim of Floris, and after flourishing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Johann of Parma, Gerard of San Donnino, Hubert of Casale, Peter of Bruys, Waldus, Dolcino, the brethren of the Free Spirit) was continued by German mystics in the fourteenth century; the other tendency was that of materialist unbelief and originated from the studies of the Arabs, being synonymous with the name of Averroës." The German Emperor, the Hohenstauffer, Frederick II, was attracted to the latter tendency.

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primitive Christianity. Still, it must be remembered that the adherents of Joachim regarded his "Eternal Gospel" as superseding the New Testament, just as the latter had superseded the Old Testament. It was really a case of Joachim of Floris *versus* the Gospel.

Even of a more heretical cast were the teachings of Amalrich (died 1204). The latter was born in Bena in the diocese of Chartres (France). For many years he taught logic and exegesis (Biblical explanation) in the Paris University. His doctrines concerning the Godhead were condemned by the University. As this condemnation was confirmed by the Pope, Amalrich died of chagrin. He left no writings behind him, but his doctrines were propagated by some of his disciples, for which they were condemned.

The opinions of the Amalricians are known to us only from the writings which impugned them, and therefore from biased sources. Nevertheless, they permit inferences to be drawn regarding the trend of thought and the endeavours of Amalrich and his supporters. They proceeded from

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Scotus Erigena (ninth century), who was a mystic and pantheist, believing in the return of the state of paradise or the natural happiness of man.

In his work (*On the Division of Nature*, Book V. Caps. 2 and 19) he stated: "Whence it is now clear that man's expulsion from Paradise is nothing else than the loss of natural bliss, which he was created to inherit. And S. John said in the Apocalypse: 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.' The meaning of the new earth was, as the blessed theologian, Gregory of Nazianzus, declared, the restoration of human nature to its former condition." Erigena was also a Pantheist; he quoted the pregnant passage from Dionysius the Areopagite, "that God has created all things and likewise is being created in all things" (Book III. Cap. 10), or, to express it in Hegelian language: The Godhead is involved in a process of becoming, in which He and the world are being created.

These ideas were taken up by Amalrich and his disciples. They taught that God

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was and is in all, in Jesus as well as in the heathen thinkers and poets. He spoke through Ovid as eloquently as through S. Augustine. As Mystics and Pantheists they were antinomian (against ritualistic customs, ecclesiastical ceremonies and precepts); they were opposed to the adoration of saints and prayers to relics. In their view, those who were partakers of the Holy Spirit were above the law; marriage and property laws were invalid in their eyes. The disciples of Amalrich were also acquainted with Joachim's doctrine of the three ages, and they believed themselves to be the pioneers of the third age (of the Holy Spirit), thus superseding traditional Christianity. They opposed the Church, held the Pope to be Anti-Christ and Rome to be Babylon. This doctrine was amplified and spread by the Franciscan Left Wing.

Akin to the Amalricians was the sect of the Free Spirit, which contained members who, in their belief that they were inspired by the Divine Spirit, made light of all morality, and wrought much harm in the heretical-communist movement.

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3. S. FRANCIS OF ASSISI—DUNS SCOTUS— MARSILIUS OF PADUA—WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

The founder of the Franciscan Order, to which he gave his name, was born in Assisi (Umbria, Italy) in 1181 or 1182. His father was a wealthy merchant, and also a great traveller. Francis did not receive a systematic education ; he lived the life of the gilded youth, had his fling, and fell into captivity during a war waged by his native town against Perugia. He then returned, resumed his old undisciplined life until he was smitten by an illness. His recovery was a long and difficult matter. Francis had time to reflect upon his life, and finally passed through a spiritual crisis, from which he emerged reborn. He withdrew to solitude, prayed, dedicated himself to the service of the poor, the sick, and the leprous. Once an inner voice referred him to the following verse in the Gospel of Matthew (x. 7-10) : " And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils. Freely ye received, freely

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give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves : for the labourer is worthy of his food." Francis answered this call. In joy and poverty he proceeded to his work. In the year 1206 he found a dozen supporters to follow him. It was against his intention to establish an order of monks. All he desired was to have a number of missionaries, who would live in evangelical poverty and obey the command of Christ, to earn their means of sustenance by manual labour and—when this was impossible—by mendicancy, in any case they should have no contact with money ; he did not demand of them excessive asceticism. He wished to set on foot a mission of primitive Christians, who by their ardour, their devotion, and their example would reform the world.

The saint of Assisi loved nature, not only as a poet, but as part of the entire creation ; he embraced all the things and beings of the world in brotherly love. He was an unconscious mystic ; he set no store by philosophy, science, and theo-

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logy. Practical assistance to all who were weak, ill, or poor, the religious and moral rejuvenation of humanity were to him the Alpha and Omega of Christianity. He strove with none save himself. To the Church he remained faithful.

The number of his supporters grew with extraordinary rapidity. During his absence from Italy (1219-1220) his deputy Elias transformed the Franciscans into an order, which did not please Francis on his return. On the Pope's advice, however, he composed himself and assented to the change. (The Franciscans were also called Minorites.)

Nevertheless, Francis felt that his disciples had entered on the slippery path in becoming a monastic order. In his charge to them, he exclaimed: "I labour with my hands and will continue so to labour. It is also my definite wish that the brethren perform suitable work. They shall avoid the acceptance of churches, dwellings, and all other things that may be offered them on conditions which are unfavourable to the holy poverty which we prize as our rule. They shall remain

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guests, pilgrims, and strangers on the earth. I exhort all brethren not to supplicate the Roman Church for any privilege, neither directly nor indirectly, neither for the Church nor under the pretext of delivering sermons, nor in pursuance of worldly advantage."

Under the guidance of S. Francis, the Order of S. Clare was soon founded, and was followed in the year 1221 by the Tertiaries: an accessory to the Franciscan Order, consisting of laymen. The latter were mostly labouring proletarians who lived and worked outside the cloister and devoted themselves to the social work of the Order. The Tertiaries were the connecting link between the Order and the heretical social reform movements. They appear to have soon become dangerous, as the Government forbade the adherence of Tertiaries to the Order.

After the death of S. Francis (1226), dissensions arose among his supporters. An extreme wing was formed which aimed at the strict maintenance of evangelical poverty, manual labour, and mendicancy. The supporters of this tendency were called the "Zealots." The other extreme

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represented the Right Wing. They turned aside from evangelical poverty and desired to make the Franciscans an ordinary monastic order. Between the two there was a centre party which comprised the majority of the members and advocated the organization of a monastic order with a moderate rule, possessing common property, which should strive to gain influence in Christendom and cultivate theology and other University sciences. At first the Order was directed by the ideas of the centre party, but in the year 1247 the spiritual leader of the Left Wing, John of Parma, who had studied theology in Paris and supported the "Eternal Gospel" of Joachim, was elected General of the Franciscans. He was an ardent champion of the strict adherence to the rule. His most intimate comrade was Gerard of San Donnino, the author of the "Introduction" (*Introductorius*) to the doctrines of Joachim. In this writing the criticism of Papacy and Church was couched in stronger terms than heretofore, special emphasis was laid on the missionary rôle of the mendicant monks, and Joachim was held up as the prophet of the approach-

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ing Third Age. The Franciscan Left Wing was inclined to estimate the "Eternal Gospel," or the writings of Joachim and Gerard, higher than the New Testament, which was even considered obsolete.

In the year 1254 the Bishop of Paris sent the *Introductorius* to the Pope, Innocent IV. An examining commission which he appointed condemned the writing as heretical, and Gerard was thrown into prison.

John of Parma was deposed, but this did not prevent the Franciscan Left Wing from clinging to the "Eternal Gospel" and condemning the Papacy and Church for heaping up earthly treasures. Out of this tendency arose the Spiritualists, who carried on the struggle against the power and avarice of the Papacy. Over a hundred Spiritualists died at the stake in the fourteenth century because, in defiance of the Bull of Pope John XXII (1316-1334), they defended evangelical poverty and denounced the power and rapacity of the Church. Another offshoot of the Franciscan Left was the Apostolic Brethren, who furnished notable support to the

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heretical-communist movement which was then strong in Lombardy and in Southern France.

Finally, the Franciscan Left also included the highly cultivated men who provided intellectual weapons against the Papacy in the conflict between the Pope John XXII and Louis the Bavarian (1314-1347). The most eminent of them all was the English Minorite, William of Ockham, who was a pupil of the famous Duns Scotus.

John Duns Scotus (born in North England; died in Cologne, 1308) was one of the most erudite of the Franciscans. He belonged, however, to the moderate section, and regarded evangelical poverty as an ideal, as the perfect Christian mode of life. Individual property had its source neither in divine nor natural law, but in Civil Law, and was the consequence of the Fall from Grace. Men were seized with the lust for domination and riches, a war of all against all arose, as each one aimed at taking as much as he could from the common possession. Thus the State and private property were established. The common possessions were divided by

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virtue of Civil Law, which regulated economic intercourse. Trade and commerce are useful to society, and are therefore legitimate. The advantages of trade ought not, however, to be used for the object of enrichment. Foresters and price manipulators are a danger to society (Duns Scotus, *Quæstiones super sententias* 4 *distinctio* 15, *quæstio* 2).

William of Ockham (born in South England; died in Munich, 1347) was a great and militant Schoolman. He kept to the strict rule of evangelical poverty and resisted the secular and material pretensions of the Papacy. In the course of this resistance he developed original views concerning the origin of property and of the State. He was cast into prison in Avignon by Pope John XXII, and owed his liberation to Louis the Bavarian, at whose Court anti-papal savants flocked.

In Munich, Ockham met his friend, Marsilius of Padua (born about 1270, died about 1342); they had become acquainted with each other in Paris, where Marsilius had studied philosophy, medicine, and theology. The two men worked out

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theories about the sovereignty of the people which were surprisingly daring for that time. Marsilius dealt with them in the book which he wrote in the year 1324, *Defensor Pacis* (Defender of Peace), and which he dedicated to Louis the Bavarian.

According to Marsilius, the people is the source of legislative power. It chooses or appoints a king or chief of the Government, who is responsible to the people. The people may call him to account. It must watch that he does not raise himself over the citizens. To do this effectually, the people ought not to allow the chief to maintain a large armed force. As representative of the sovereign people, the chief is above the Pope, whose power rests on violence, and not on the will of the people. Marsilius pointed to the democratic conditions of the primitive Christian communities, which recognized no distinction between laity and priests, and whose bishops possessed neither legislative nor executive powers. Therefore, the supreme bishop could not lawfully possess such powers.

Ockham applied the doctrine of the

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sovereignty of the people to the origin of individual property. According to him, the moral development of mankind has passed through three stages : (1) The stage before the Fall ; (2) the stage after the Fall ; (3) the stage when wickedness set in. During the first stage man lived in the light of natural law, without a State or other external regulations. All things were held in common, and all men were free and equal. In the second stage man was guided by the law of reason. Reason furnished him with laws and exhorted him to be upright, to bridle his lusts, and to live in harmonious freedom. In the third stage an external force had to be set up. It created the State, together with economic and political servitude.

But how could this condition be set up and made legitimate in the teeth of natural law and the law of reason ? Surely the latter are eternal. How could they be overturned ?

To which Ockham answered : The State and private property are legitimate only when they arise with the sanction of the people. The sovereignty of the people is

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a natural law. If the people declares its will in a sense favourable to a social order based on the State and private property, and if the latter be introduced in the interests of the community, it receives to a certain extent the sanction of natural law (Ockham, *Dialogus*, reprinted in Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii. pp. 932-34).

This doctrine of the origin of the State and of private property in the acquiescence of the people vividly recalls the theory of the social contract: that the State and private property arose on the basis of an express or tacit pact between the members of a community.

The English Franciscans—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Ockham—are also important from the standpoint of science and philosophy, but into this we cannot enter here, as we are only concerned with opinions for or against communism and popular freedom.

4. DOMINIC DE GUZMAN—THOMAS AQUINAS

S. Dominic de Guzman, the founder of the Dominican Order, came from Old Castile (Spain), was born in the year 1170,

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and died in 1221. He studied theology and received instructions from Innocent III to proceed to Languedoc (South France) to convert the Albigensian (Waldensian) heretics. He remained there from 1205 to 1215, preached and threatened, without achieving his object. He succeeded only in gaining a number of adherents and founding an Order, to which the Bishop of Toulouse assigned a church in 1215. This Order has never belied its origin as heretic converter and inquisitor. With few exceptions, the Dominicans became "hounds of the Lord" (Latin pun, *domini canes*) and inquisitors, and were the means of handing over many heretics to the secular powers or to the sword and the flames.

The most famous Dominican was S. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), a noble Italian, who was related to the Imperial family of the Staufens. He was renowned for the versatility of his learning. His significance for the history of communism is a purely negative one. His work amounted essentially to a turning away from Platonic and Neo-Platonic ideas, which always included mystical-com-

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munistic tendencies; likewise from the communist remnants of agrarian communal life. This signified an approach towards urban economy, with its mediæval trading and agricultural interests, an approach towards the anti-communist ideas of Aristotle. S. Thomas contributed greatly to the adoption of the Aristotelian *Politics* and *Ethics* by mediæval theology. He is the spiritual father of the modern Popes who issue encyclicals against Socialism.

For his introduction to the writings of Aristotle, S. Thomas was without doubt indebted to his German teacher, Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), under whom he studied in Cologne and Paris. Albertus, a Dominican, was the most widely read and erudite Schoolman of his time. By his noble character and his mode of life, Albertus rather belonged to the Franciscans, for he lived in evangelical poverty, loved science, studied the free-thinking Arabs and Jews, such as Avicenna (died 1037), Averroes (died 1198), the Jewish theologian, Moses Maimonides (died 1204), who enunciated rationalist views and, although basing himself on Aristotle, was influenced

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by Neo-Platonic ideas. Averroes, too, devoted some attention to Plato's communist republic.

S. Thomas outstripped his teacher. With sound instinct he caused the whole of the existing writings of Aristotle to be translated from Greek into Latin (1260-1270), and introduced them into the schools as authoritative sources. Whereas hitherto the *Logic*, *Physics*, and *Metaphysics* of Aristotle were the principal works that had been known, henceforth his *Politics* and *Ethics* became also familiar—writings which in principle are directed against Plato, against communism, and against the ideas of natural law. As observed in the first part of this history, Aristotle's *Politics* is partly a polemic against Plato's *Republic*. It sets out to prove that private property is natural, because it is more in harmony with human nature than communism; that slavery is not contrary to nature, as the natures of men are unequal, and therefore that the doctrines of communal possession, of freedom and equality, cannot appeal to the law of nature on their behalf.

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In view of the great authority which Aristotle enjoyed in the Middle Ages, it was not difficult for S. Thomas to effect a compromise between the primitive Christian and patristic traditions of natural law and Aristotelian opinions and the conditions of the mediæval towns. A complete surrender of the old natural law was out of the question, for the authority of the Church Fathers could not be simply repudiated. S. Thomas was a great compromiser and opportunist, and as the case with such characters, he did reverent homage to the principle, but followed in practice the course dictated by the existing conditions. Communism, argued S. Thomas, presupposes ideal men and may be feasible enough *in statu innocentiae* (in the condition of innocence), for then there was no danger of disunion and strife amongst men. But as men are in fact constituted, individual property is more natural, only it is incumbent on the rich—according to divine and natural law—to give generous alms to the poor, for the superfluity of the one signifies the deficiency of the other. Moreover, property and inequality are not the necessary conse-

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quences of the Fall from Grace and of deviation from natural law. These institutions would have arisen irrespective of the moral catastrophe ; the social circumstances would have moved men to establish individual property and inequality, for the diversity of the property relations and of the sections of the population is based upon the diversity in the performances of labour. Even the State is not necessarily a consequence of the Fall, nor is it specially designed to correct the vices of mankind ; it is rather the most appropriate form under which men may live together in a healthy fashion.¹

The Aristotelian-Thomas ideas gradually became the dominant theory of the Church, which turned it against the socialists and communists. The increasing differentiation of individual property and of urban life since the close of the Middle

¹ Aristotle's *Politics*, Book II. Cap. 2, §§ 5, 6, 7, 8, Cap. 3 and 4 ; Book IV. Cap. 9 ; Book VIII. Cap. 7, § 8 ; Cap. 10, § 3. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, I., quæstio 96, 4 ; II. 2, quæstio 66a and a2 (concerning ownership and property) ; the same, *De regimine principum*, I. 1, IV. 4. Comp. also Troeltsch, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1909, pp. 58 to 59, also his *Gesammelte Werke*, Band I. ; Carlyle, *History of Mediæval Political Theory*, Edinburgh, 1903-7.

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Ages drove the old patristic and canonic natural law out of Christian theology, and paved the way for the reception of Roman law. It was only the communistic heretics who adhered to the old natural law and based their social ethics upon it.

IV

THE ESSENCE OF THE HERETICAL- SOCIAL MOVEMENT

I. SPIRITUAL TENDENCIES

A BIRD'S-EYE view of Western and Central Europe from the eleventh to about the middle of the fourteenth centuries presents an unusually animated panorama.

The towns were arising from the countryside like numerous islands from the sea, and trade and industry were flourishing in them. The Papacy and the Empire were keeping the world in a state of tension by their struggle for supremacy. Multitudes of men were proceeding on pilgrimages to the East, with cross and sword; the great theological schools in Paris, Oxford, and Cologne were drawing upon the whole knowledge of the time in their religious speculations: Scholasticism prepared rich

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feasts ; the plastic arts were fashioning in the Gothic imperishable monuments of the infinite strivings of the time ; in Dante's *Divine Comedy* poetry was reflecting the movements and deeds, aspirations and thoughts, confusions and promises of those generations and centuries.

Within the towns the rising bourgeoisie was laying down new social foundations, fighting for independence and power against ecclesiastical, kingly, and feudal pretensions. In Paris, Abelard¹ was testing the articles of faith in the light of reason, as he wished to have rational grounds for his belief instead of authorities. In Oxford, one of the acutest minds, the Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon,² was speculating about problems of natural science, liberating reason from its subservient position in the province of faith, and raising it to sovereignty in the sphere

¹ Peter Abelard (1079-1142) was one of the boldest scholastic thinkers of the Middle Ages. His writings were condemned as heretical by Pope Innocent II in the year 1140. His most celebrated disciple was Arnold of Brescia.

² Roger Bacon (born 1214 ; died at Oxford, 1292), the great advocate of the empirical method of research, and pioneer of the natural sciences, was imprisoned on account of his strong criticism of the Church.

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of secular investigation (Nominalism). In Cologne a religious and ethical genius, the bold Dominican monk and founder of German mysticism, Master Eckehart,¹ was preaching upon the essence of the divinity, the evolutionary process of the universe, the union of the human soul with its all-penetrating original principle, and delivering homilies on poverty and renunciation of possessions.

In all European centres forces of a heretical, chaotic, and spiritual nature were at work undermining the foundations of the ecclesiastical-dogmatic structure which had been erected by S. Paul, S. Augustine, and S. Thomas Aquinas. Poor

¹ Johann Eckehart (born at Gotha about the year 1260; died in Cologne, 1327) was characterized by the unusual profundity of his religious and philosophical ideas, popular eloquence, and unquenchable benevolence. His religious and ethical ideas approximated to heresy. As such, his writings were impugned and eventually condemned by Pope John XXII. Eckehart associated with the Beghards, who at that time evoked as much horror among the Dominicans and in ecclesiastical circles as the Bolsheviki do to-day among the parties of order. His social outlook was akin to theirs. One of his sayings is well known: "If one is in such a state of ecstasy as S. Paul, and knows a sick person who needs a good soup, it is far better that he suspends his raptures, and serves God in a greater love."

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handworkers — weavers, cobblers, masons, and carpenters—were organizing in spiritual brotherhoods, guilds, corporations. They were yearning for an evangelical mode of life and religious union ; ardently hoping for social freedom and the realization of millennial aspirations. Their bodily remains were burnt to ashes in the flames, but their aspirations persisted, swelling to organ tones through space and time, not to be stifled or appeased till they are fulfilled.

These are three centuries of sublime greatness and beauty, of titanic endeavours and luminous manifestations of the human spirit, but also of tragic errors and failures, of colossal defects and weaknesses of the human character—and in spite of all, a stage in the higher development of humanity. All in all, a tribute to the unwearying, tireless striving after the perfection of the moral and social life of the nations.

2. THE CATHARI

At the turn of the twelfth century the towns of Western and Central Europe were honeycombed by heretical sects. The

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Balkan Peninsula, North and Central Italy, France, Spain, the whole Rhine valley from Alsace to the Netherlands, a wide tract of Central Germany from Cologne to Goslar, were agitated by sectarian movements, which adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the Church, and were in the course of establishing a new religious and communal life. The masses had been plunged into doubt by the Church, and sought to reorganize their religious, ethical, and social life on a primitive Christian basis. These sects were known by the general name of Cathari (from the Greek *katharoi* = the pure). From the beginning of the eleventh century we read of decisions of various ecclesiastical synods and sentences of condemnation against the Cathari, who were then known by numerous other appellations, such as Piphilians, textores (weavers), Patarenians, the Poor of Lombardy, Paulicians, the Poor of Lyons, Leonists, Waldensians, Albigensians, Bogumilians, Bulgarians, Arnoldists, Passengers, the Humble, Communiati (Hefele, *Council History*, 2nd ed. vol. v. pp. 568, 827; Mansi, *Sacrorum Concil.*, Collectio xxii. 477; Pertz, *Monumenta*

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Germaniæ, Leges II, 328). Later their numbers were swelled by the Beghines and the Beghards, who were not heretics originally. These appellations are partly of local, partly of personal origin. The individual heretical movements or organizations were named after the locality where they had their headquarters, or after their most prominent leader, or after their character. Generally speaking, they were Cathari, whence is derived the German term for heretic, *ketzer*.

The time of origin of the Cathari is the last half of the tenth century. Strange enough, they are first heard of in Bulgaria, where they thrived on the opposition offered by the peasants to the nascent feudalism. Then we hear of the Catharian movement in Western Europe, where it assumed an urban-trading character. From the episcopal synod of Orleans in 1022, where thirteen heretics were accused of "free love," and eleven of them were given over to the flames, prosecutions are continuous until the end of the Middle Ages. In the year 1025, heretics were summoned before the Synod of Arras, because they had asserted: the essence of religion is the

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performance of good works ; life should be supported by manual labour ; love should be extended to comrades ; he who practises this righteousness needs neither sacrament nor church. The movement grew everywhere : in Lombardy, in Languedoc (South France), in Alsace, in the whole Rhine valley, in Central Germany. In 1052, a number of heretics were burnt at Goslar, because they were against the killing of living beings (against war, murder, or even the slaughter of animals). Two decades previously (1030) Catharian heretics were called to account at Montforte (in Turin) because they had sharply rejected the ecclesiastical mode of life, and advocated celibacy, the prohibition of animal slaughter, community of earthly possessions.

It is obvious that an international movement of this kind would be devoid of uniform doctrines, and equally so of uniform practice and policy. In its philosophy, two tendencies can be distinguished : that of Gnostic-Manichean dualism (in strict or moderate forms) and that of Amalrician pantheism. The former, with its more or less sharp antagonism between the two

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sovereign powers of Good and Evil, of Spirit and Matter, was in a high degree ascetic, morally strict, for it was concerned with subduing the flesh. The followers of the pantheistic tendency, who regarded themselves as partakers of the Holy Spirit, as redeemed from sin, rejected all asceticism and all ties ; at least, it seemed that many members of this section lived as supermen, beyond good and evil. Their influence, however, was only intermittent. The great mass of the Catharian sections lived austere lives, and accepted the Gnostic-Manichean philosophy.

The common characteristics of practically all the heretical factions were evangelical poverty, resistance to the secularization of the Church and of Monasticism, the endeavour after a virtuous communal life, the rejection of the sacraments, dogmas, and authorities of official Christianity.

Many of the sects were divided into two classes : the perfect and the faithful. The former class strictly followed the Catharian social ethic : lived ascetic lives, in poverty or communism ; the other class, it is true, separated itself from the official Church, but in civil life it pursued the usual voca-

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tions and hoped the time would come when all Cathari would be able to live in the light of their social ethics.

Their general policy was of a pacific nature. The Cathari were opposed to all force, and every sort of external coercion ; they even regarded the Crusades as human carnage. Only in the direst extremities, when they were threatened with absolute destruction, would they appeal to arms. This was particularly true of the Waldensians, the strongest faction of the Cathari. They all relied upon the eventual triumph of Good by the power of the spirit, of philanthropy and truth.

3. THE CATHARI AND COMMUNISM

We have no information or documents deriving from the Cathari themselves upon which we can form an opinion of their doctrines, or, what is of special interest to us, their attitude towards social and economic ideas, as their writings were confiscated and destroyed by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For our knowledge of the Cathari we have to rely upon the statements of those who prose-

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cuted and opposed them, all of whom were supporters of the doctrines of the Church. The inquisitors and judges of the Cathari were bishops, dominicans, and popes, who obviously were chiefly interested in the religious doctrines of the accused, and paid little attention to their views on social and economic questions, just as, conversely, in our day the opponents of socialists and communists have little or no regard for the religious aspect, and lay the greatest stress on the social-economic attitude and aspirations of those whom they oppose. In the Middle Ages religion was the primary consideration, particularly where the Church dispensed justice. Moreover, as theoretical supporters of evangelical poverty and as cenobites, monks could not discover heresy in the fact that the Cathari or sections of them were in favour of a communal life, or a co-operative form of economy. Consequently, the Anti-Catharian writings contain very detailed information concerning their religious views and customs, but scanty details of their social-economic doctrines. All that is certain is that they regarded evangelical poverty as the perfect Christian's ideal of

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life, and that they looked on private property and marriage as evils. These doctrines were the consequence alike of their Gnostic-Manichæan philosophy, according to which the material and the worldly was the embodiment of evil, and of the high regard they paid to the traditions of the age of primitive Christianity. The Sermon on the Mount was the social-ethical foundation of the heretical mode of life. The injunction to love one's enemies, the prohibition of swearing, the exhortation to have the tenderest care of their poor and sick brothers, peaceableness, humility, and sexual purity were taken seriously by the Cathari. The Sermon on the Mount was the social-ethical basis of the heretic's conduct of life. They were antinomian: the sacraments and the ecclesiastical doctrines and precepts generally were regarded by them not as aids but as hindrances to salvation. Their whole attitude towards the Church, the State, and their laws was one of rejection.

We, however, are concerned to learn something about their attitude towards communism. Although the monastic inquisitors were more or less indifferent to

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the social-economic views and aspirations of heretics, there are indications in the very comprehensive Anti-Catharian literature that the doctrines of communism and natural law were diffused among the Cathari.

A theologian who flourished in the twelfth century, named Alanus (who came either from Lille or from South France), who devoted considerable attention to the doctrines of the Cathari and wrote a work against them (*De fide catholica adversus hæreticos et Waldenses*, Migne, *Patrologia* T. ccx. 366), observed: "The Cathari say also *conjugium obviari legi naturæ, quia lex naturalis dictat omnia esse communia*" (that the marriage tie is against the laws of nature, which ordain that all things should be common). A contemporary heresy-hunter adopted another method of discrediting the Cathari. He argued with them: Your communism is only a superficial one, a matter of words; only as agitators are you communists, for in reality there is no equality amongst you, many are rich, many poor—*In vobis non omnia communia, quidam enim plus, quidam minus habent* (Everard de Bethune,

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Liber antihæresis, Opera, vol. xii., Gretser edition 1614, p. 171). Even Joachim of Floris was numbered among the opponents of the Cathari, whom he reproached with promising the people every variety of riches and indulgence. We find a similar anti-communist polemic in an indictment which was drawn up in the years 1210-1213 in Strassburg (Alsace) against about eighty heretics (Waldensians). The indictment consisted of sixty articles which summarized the false doctrines of the accused persons. Article 15 read: "So that their heresy might gain wider support, they have put all their goods into a common store." The Waldensians were further accused of sending money to Pickhard, the heretic leader at Milan, and to the Strassburg leader, Johannes, to enable them to strengthen heresy and oppress all priests. Article 16 accused them of free love. The accused leader, Johannes, made answer that the money was collected for the support of the poor, who were very numerous among them; he must, however, repudiate the charge of unchastity as being wholly unfounded.

It is clear that the charge against the

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heretics did not reside in community of goods in itself, but the alleged object to which the common financial resources were devoted. Here it is pertinent to revert to the above-mentioned accusation against the Cathari of Montforte (1030), which, among other things, states: *Omnem nostram possessionem cum omnibus hominibus communem habemus* (We have all our possessions in common with all men). The description of the various sects by the Dominican Stephan of Bourbon (died 1261 in Lyons) is also noteworthy. In his curious French Latin he said of the Waldensians that they *dampnant omnes terrena possidentes* (condemn all possessors of earthly goods). Then there are Communiati, so-called because they say: *communia omnia esse debere* (all things should be common). Stephan makes merry over the divisions in the sectarian movement, but admits that when it is a question of opposing the Church or monasticism, all heretics stand together (*inter se dissident, et contra nos conveniunt*) (Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques*, Paris, 1877, pp. 278-79, 280-81). Another theologian or monk who exercised his office about the middle of the thirteenth

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century makes this reference to the Waldensians : " They do not engage in trade, so as to avoid telling untruths, swearing oaths and practising deceptions. They strive not after riches, but are content with necessities " (quoted by Keller, *Die Reformation und die alteren Reformparteien*, 1886).

One of the most influential and embittered of heresy-hunters, Bernard of Clairvaux, a Catholic saint, contemporary and vigorous opponent of Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, testified as follows, concerning the social ethics of the Cathari : " If you ask them, none can be more Christian than these heretics ; as far as their conduct is concerned, nothing can be more blameless ; and their deeds accord with their words. The Cathari deceives no one, oppresses none, strikes none ; his cheeks are pale from fasting, he eats not the bread of idleness, and supports himself with the labour of his hands."

We get a glimpse of the first Waldensians from an account left by the English Prelate, Walter Maps, who officiated as examiner and reporter at the third Lateran Council (international congress of bishops, etc.) held at Rome in 1179, before which

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a deputation of Waldensians appeared, and were questioned about their teachings, by the Pope's order (*De nugis curialium*, p. 65, edition Wright, London, 1850) : "*Hii certa nusquam habent domicilia, . . . circueunt nudi pedes, laneis induti, nil habentes, omnia sibi communes*" (They have nowhere a fixed domicile ; they go barefooted, cloth themselves in woollen garments of repentance, have no personal property, but all things in common).

The sect of Humiliati consisted of religious associations of workers, who laboured in common.

From these reports and from the whole spiritual outlook of the Cathari, the conclusion may be drawn that this movement whole-heartedly espoused the ideals of the primitive Christian communities, rejected on principle private property and the social order based upon it, and aimed at a communal life which would enable them to subdue the material and to develop the virtues which their philosophy enjoined.

It is doubtful whether the Cathari ever possessed extensive communistic institutions. In fact, they had no opportunities

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to put their ideas into practice, for, as soon as their movement assumed any dimensions which would have enabled them to proceed to the practical solution of their problems, Church and State embarked on a policy of ruthless persecution, the fires were lighted, dungeon and sword slew thousands upon thousands of Cathari. They died in masses for their convictions. In moving language the Cathari of Cologne described their situation in the middle of the twelfth century, when they were being called to account before the episcopal judges: "We poor Christians are unsettled and wander from town to town, like lambs in the midst of wolves (*de civitate in civitatem fugientes, sicut oves in medio luporum*). We suffer persecution like the apostles. But you love the world and have made your peace with it" (Eberwin, *Epistola ad S. Bernardum*, Migne, T. clxxxii. p. 676).

It is obvious that under such vicissitudes of life the realization of communism was out of the question. The learned Church historian, Döllinger, who studied all the documents pertaining to the history of the Sects during several decades (author of the work, *Contributions to the History of*

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the Sects, of which the second large volume consists of documents collected from the great libraries), writes: "Every heretical doctrine which arose in the Middle Ages had explicitly or implicitly a revolutionary character, that is, in the measure that it attained to a commanding position, it threatened to dissolve the existing political order and to effect a political and social transformation. Those Gnostic sects, the Cathari and the Albigenses, which specially provoked the harsh and ruthless legislation of the Middle Ages, and had to be put down in a series of bloody struggles, were the Socialists and Communists of that time. They attacked marriage, the family, and property. Had they triumphed, a general upheaval and a relapse into barbarism and heathen licentiousness would have been the consequence. Every one acquainted with history knows that there was no place whatever in the European world of that time even for the Waldenses, with their principles touching oaths and the right of the State power to inflict punishment" (*Kirche und Kirchen. Papsttum und Kirchenstaat*, 1861, p. 51). Döllinger's words are inspired by an apologetic purpose. He

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wrote in support of Catholic authority. But he overlooked the fact that the strict application of the social ethics of the Gospels, the Sermon on the Mount, and the primitive Christian communities would also have rendered a feudal or bourgeois world impossible.

In essence, monasticism was a theoretical admission that the bourgeois world was incompatible with the Gospel of Christ. This is at least true of the first centuries of monasticism. And when the monasteries became secularized and broke faith with the Gospel, the gap was filled by the Cathari, the Franciscan Left Wing, the Spiritualists, the Waldenses, etc. In any case, Döllinger's expression of opinion is a further proof of the communistic tendencies among the Cathari. The disappointment caused by the failure of the Church called the monasteries into existence, and the failure of monasticism was followed by the Cathari. So long as primitive Christianity held sway, monasticism did not exist, nor was it needed. So long as monasticism cultivated the evangelical virtues, there was no Catharist movement. These phenomena were created not *post hoc* but

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propter hoc ; they did not follow each other in point of time, but were related as cause and effect, although this process was powerfully aided by the economic conditions.

4. THE INQUISITION

Toleration may owe its existence to three causes. First, the conviction that force and coercion are useless in spiritual affairs. Secondly, respect of human personality. Thirdly, doubts regarding the possibility of establishing final religious and scientific truths. We may leave the third cause out of account, as it can only arise in critical ages when great freedom of research prevails. Neither will the second cause concern us, as it presupposes a liberal, individualistic form of society, which existed practically nowhere in the Middle Ages.¹ We are left only with the first cause, which did in fact exist during the centuries of the birth and youth of Christianity ; but it was one of the noblest achievements of

¹ Languedoc formed an exception, where in the eleventh and twelfth centuries an intellectual liberalism flourished.

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the culture of Antiquity, which was then declining.

The reorganization of the Roman Empire by intellectually inferior army leaders and intriguing statesmen (Diocletian, Constantine), who came to the front in the confusions occasioned by the breaking up of the old world ; the migration of nations, the appearance of the Germans with their primitive feeling of solidarity, as well as the general desire for a reorganization of civilization made an end of all toleration. Obedience and subjection was demanded of the individual by the State, the Church, the monasteries, and other associations. This is an important lesson for all epochs of reorganization and reconstruction.

The more primitive a social organization is, the stronger is its bond of solidarity. But the feeling that all are responsible for one, and one for all, causes all and each to watch the thoughts and actions of the individual member and to intervene in his personal affairs. If all are equally members of one body, the weal and woe of the whole depends upon what each individual does or omits to do.

The restraints on freedom which are thus

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involved constitute an aspect of solidarity which is so unpleasant for modern men.

And where temporal affairs were mixed up with spiritual affairs, as in a theocracy, intellectual life was crippled, and the central power felt itself obliged to defend even God from insult and to compel its individual members to be happy.

Thus the only source of toleration which was still flowing in the times of primitive Christianity was stopped up in the course of the Middle Ages.

We have already referred to the first burning of heretics which took place in Treves in 385. These proceedings evoked general horror in Christendom at that time. In spite of individual persecutions, the real meaning of the Gospel teachings continued more or less to hold its own, all the more so as heresy was a rare occurrence before the beginning of the eleventh century. Monasticism had absorbed those Christians who were discontented with the Church and the World, and shut them off from the outside world. As, however, monasticism became demoralized and civilized life grew more vigorous, heresy assumed the form of a mass movement

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and threatened the ecclesiastical and social structure of the Middle Ages. The first burning of heretics has been mentioned above, but so late as the year 1048 Bishop Wazo of Liège raised a protest and wrote to his official brother of Chalons: "God does not wish the death of sinners. Enough of the faggots. Do not let us kill with the secular sword those whom our Creator and Redeemer would let live. The bishops are the anointed of the Lord, not to deal out death, but to bring life." Wazo's biographer, Anselm of Liège, likewise condemned the proceedings of the Emperor Henry III against the heretics in Goslar (1052):

"It is a scandal that after subjecting their unbelief to a long process of investigation and meting out the proper punishment of excommunication, the heretics of Goslar should have been hanged into the bargain just because they refused to kill a pullet."

But as the outlook of the Church became more worldly, and its wealth increased, stimulating the parallel phenomena of

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heresy, kings and princes were forced by the popes to exterminate the Cathari with fire and sword. In the thirteenth century the Spiritual Inquisition was fully equipped. Honest, zealous Dominicans, great princes of the Church, robber-knights eager for indulgences, and all sorts of prowling rabble furiously raged against the Bogomilians, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, and similar Manichæist ascetics and socially-minded labour sections, and by systematic slaughter, the dungeon, and the stake, prepared for them a terrible end.

The doctrines of the Church regarding heresy were expounded by S. Thomas Aquinas: "Heresy is a sin, and the heretic deserves not only to be excommunicated by the Church, but to be excluded from the world. If the heretic persists in his error, the Church shall abandon all efforts to save him and devote her energies to saving the rest of mankind by passing a sentence of excommunication, leaving the secular judge to banish the heretic from the world by death." In saying which, the "doctor angelicus," the angelic teacher, as S. Thomas was called, only covered with the mantle of his authority the inquisitorial

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practice which had long since been in existence.

Moreover, the condemned heretic lost his possessions, which the Dominicans or the Popes divided with the secular authorities. A person accused of heresy had practically no chance of saving himself, as in practice the legal proceedings admitted of no defence. The number of persons burned was relatively not large. The extermination of heretics was accomplished by Crusades against heretical districts, in which thousands fell victims to the sword, as well as by wholesale lifelong imprisonment and similar tortures which broke multitudes of heretics in body and spirit. Heretics were persecuted even after death; their bones were dug up and burnt, and the property of their heirs was sequestrated. It is true that occasionally the friends of the persecuted succeeded in murdering a few inquisitors, but the latter were then sanctified by the Church, and the process of extirpating heretics proceeded undisturbed to the bitter end. The worse laws against heretics were associated with the name of the Emperor Frederick II (1220, 1224, 1231, 1238); a free-thinking

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man and friend of Arabian philosophy (which denied the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul), but a diplomatic ruler, who regarded heresy sometimes as a danger to the State, and sometimes as a weapon in his negotiations with the Popes. The Hohenstauffer Frederick II vividly recalls the Hohenzollern Frederick II (the Great), King of Prussia : both were heretics and cynics ; both consorted with the free-thinking philosophers of their times ; in their secular government, however, both were despotic, warlike, centralistic, and ready to treat with the Church ; both were nurtured in Romance culture. Both are exemplars of "enlightened" despotism.

On the day of his coronation in Rome (1220), the Emperor Frederick II signed an edict which declared all heretics to be infamous, and put them beyond the pale of the law, their property being sequestrated. In 1231 he empowered the Dominicans to act as inquisitors for the whole of Germany. The punishments meted out to heretics were death by burning and the tearing out of their tongues, and if the fear of death impelled them to do

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penance, they were consigned to lifelong incarceration on bread and water. In 1232 the Emperor puts rebels and heretics on the same footing, and announced that the common protection of Church and State was his duty. But this compromise with the Church availed him little. From his contest with the Papacy he eventually retired worsted. Frederick II is a striking testimony to the truth of the principle that unscrupulous striving after worldly power corrupts even the freest mind.

The Spiritual Inquisition, or, as it was called, the "Holy Office," condemned accused persons as heretics, excommunicated them, and then delivered them up to the secular arm, for theoretically no priest might shed blood.

The Inquisition assumed its most cruel and vindictive form in France and Spain, while in Germany its activities were sporadic or curbed by opposition, and in Bohemia and England it could not get any foothold at all. However, the sacrifices which the heretical-social movement everywhere made were enormous. We shall appraise them in the next section.

The ground we are about to tread is holy

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ground, the blood-soaked soil of the social-heretical martyrology, a martyrology such as no Church can boast. Denounced as enemies of the Church and State by Popes and Emperors and Kings, condemned as infidels by bishops, priests, and monks, the men and women of the social-heretical movement were derided and persecuted, by the worldly and ecclesiastical multitude. Their lives were full of self-denial, and fearlessly they met their death.

V

THE SPREAD AND PERSECUTION OF THE CATHARI

I. BULGARIA AND THE BOGOMILI

THE flood of the migration of nations bore the South Slavs as far as the Balkan Peninsula. They were organized in tribes, brotherhoods, and households, and the direction of their affairs was democratic. Soon, however, they got at loggerheads with their neighbours and with the Byzantine Empire, which forced them to organize on a military basis. The spoils of war, plunder, and cattle-rearing were their chief sources of life. Out of these conditions developed a warrior caste, which, under the influence of Byzantine civilization, absorbed feudal notions, usurped the best arable land and the forests, and imposed feudal service upon the agricultural population. The latter

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defended itself from oppression and all the more appreciated the benefits of the fast-disappearing order of democratic-communist traditions.

To this must be added another economic factor. At the time of Charles the Great, part of the trade from Constantinople to Germany passed through the country of the Avars (Hungary). About the middle of the eighth century the Bulgars defeated the Avars and wrested from them the Byzantine-German carrying trade, and became so rich that they aroused the envy of the Greeks. "The Bulgars," complained a Greek writer, "have all become merchants, and consequently have fallen a prey to self-seeking and corruption."

While this transformation was in progress Christianity was being spread over the country, and in the year 864 Bulgaria accepted the Christian religion, of course in a Greek-Catholic shape. With Christianity the Gnostic-Manichæan ideas penetrated into Bulgaria, and found ready acceptance among the people. The struggle between Good and Evil easily became a symbol of the antagonism between the feudal caste and the rich merchants on

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the one side and the robbed and exploited people on the other side, or between the new class society and the old order of equality; and the harsher the form which the reality assumed, the more ready the people were to embrace a Christianity tinged with Gnostic-Manichæist doctrines.

About the middle of the tenth century many persons followed the priest Bogomil (Beloved of God), who became the founder of a sect. The movement spread to Serbia and found ardent and devoted supporters, especially in Bosnia.

At the end of the tenth century the orthodox priests complained of the Bogomili that they preached disobedience to the authorities, condemned the rich, traduced the feudal lords (Boljaren), despised the State officials and held them for godless, stirred up discontent among slaves and prevented them from serving their masters. Among the Bogomili there were the Perfect and the Faithful; the former lived communally in settlements, while the believers merely supported the doctrines without attempting to practise them.

The persecutions of the Bogomili commenced at the end of the eleventh century,

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on the orders of the Popes, Innocent III and Honorius III, and were continued from time to time by means of bloody crusades from Hungary. In the year 1234 Bosnia was laid waste with fire and sword by the Hungarian crusaders, and bloody wars were the sequence. The Bosnian heretics defended themselves with tenacity, and revived after every defeat, so much so that on one occasion—about 1400—Catharism was proclaimed the State religion in Bosnia. It required a Hungarian-Polish Crusade, in which sixty thousand combatants participated, to break the power of the Bosnian Cathari. These devastating wars, however, turned out to the advantage of Islam rather than of Christianity, for since the year 1385, in which the Turks gained a decisive victory over the Serbs, the Balkan Peninsula had fallen more and more under Islamitic influence. Nevertheless, the crusaders persisted in their campaign against the Bosnian Cathari, until at length the very name of Christianity became an object of loathing to a large number of the Bosnians. When, therefore, the Turks in 1463 entered upon war against Bosnia, the latter surrendered

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without striking a blow ; the province had neither the power nor the will to defend itself against Islam in order to be extirpated by fire and sword by Christianity. The bitterness against the official Christians was so great that the Bosnian Bogomili became Mohammedans.¹

2. ITALY — THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN POPE AND EMPEROR—ARNOLDISTS— HUMILIATI—APOSTOLIC BRETHREN

The Lombardian towns were the earliest to respond to the impulse of the new economic and political life which had come into being since the middle of the tenth century. They became the clearing-houses of European trade with the Orient, and consequently the centres of Occidental finance. With these advantages there were also drawbacks. Lombardy became the centre of attraction for the Imperialist projects of the German Emperors and the

¹ J. C. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*, Wittenberg, 1742 ; Ch. Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares ou Albigeois*, Paris, Genève, 1847-49 ; H. C. Lea, *History of the Mediæval Inquisition* ; Popowitsch, *Neue Zeit*, 24 Jahrg. p. 348 et seq. Bogomili also existed in Russia in the fifteenth century.

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Popes of Rome. Lombardy, like Flanders, is one of the great cockpits of Europe. These politico-economic factors contributed much to the strengthening of the self-consciousness of the Lombardian towns: the latter became republics with more or less democratic institutions, and sought to consolidate their independence as against both Emperor and Pope. Their efforts in this direction first of all conflicted with clerical pretensions to power: the priests demanded as their right an independent status within the republican communities; they demanded their immunities and privileges, their own judiciary, freedom from taxation, the carrying out of clerical sentences on heretical citizens by the secular arm.

The towns offered resistance; disputes broke out in which the urban representatives cast about them for arguments against the Church which they found partly in the old democratic traditions which were later to be worked up into a closely-knit theory by Marsilius of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis*, partly in the Bible and in primitive Christianity. They pointed to evangelical poverty, to the Sermon on the

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Mount, to the democratic constitution of the primitive communities—in short, to the original, popular, equalitarian, and social-ethical teachings of the Gospel. In the course of these disputes, parties were formed which struggled against each other and kept alive the criticism of the Church.

These struggles were in the nature of religious feuds between the bourgeoisie and the clergy, and as onlookers the hand-workers and the poor formed their own ideas, fell away from official Christianity, and directed their attention upon social problems.

Added to these local struggles and confusions was the world-historical Investiture dispute between Pope and Emperor, which broke out in the last quarter of the eleventh century and reverberated through northern Italy. No North Italian could be indifferent to the personality of Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085), an outstanding figure, with democratic-conservative and Christian social sympathies. His condemnation of the corrupt clergy, on the one hand, and on the other, his pretensions to secular power, which found their most drastic expression in the penance of Henry IV at

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Canossa, were certain to be viewed by republican citizens with very mixed feelings. His purity of character, his condemnation of profit-seeking and trade, his branding of kings and princes perforce awakened sympathy in working-class circles. In the course of time, Papal and Imperial parties arose which further complicated the old urban struggles. The disputes between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufers, Frederick I, Barbarossa (1152-1190), and Frederick II (1212-1251), clove deeper still in the history of North Italy and even of Italy entire. The parties of Guelphs (Papal) and Ghibellines (Imperial) became a component part of political life in Italy. In all these quarrels the Papacy proved, in point of diplomacy, superior to the Empire. The Investiture quarrel established the Church State, bequeathed great diplomatic traditions to the Papal Court, and — what especially concerns us — secured for the Church the support of the secular arm in the bitter exterminatory campaigns of the Popes, bishops, and Dominicans against the Cathari. The crowning of the Emperor at Rome became, in the hands of the Popes (among whom Innocent III (1198-1216)

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was the most eminent), a diplomatic instrument to make the secular power the executioner of an entirely sincere, international, primitive Christian, democratic, and social reform movement.

With the progress of these rivalries further antagonisms arose in the Lombardian towns. As long as the Popes feared the German Emperor, their attitude to the anti-ecclesiastical and heretical movements in the Lombardian towns was one of tolerance. With their diplomacy, which was far superior to German policy, the Popes were at pains to gain the North Italian towns as allies against the Empire. The German Emperors, on the contrary, once their military force gave them the means, pursued aims of economic imperialism, advanced against Lombardy, threatened their towns with war, and made enemies for themselves of precisely those elements which were their allies, inasmuch as they were confronted by the same opponent—the Papacy. The power of Barbarossa was broken at Legnano (1176) by the free citizens of Lombardy. Frederick II fought in vain against the same adversaries.

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In this diplomatic and military contest between Papacy, Empire, and the Lombard bourgeoisie a most fertile soil was prepared for the ideas of the Cathari. The towns and villages of Lombardy became the centres of propagation and the asylums of the Cathari. As early as the year 1130 we hear of episcopal courts to put down heretics, who were also known by the name of Patereni—apparently after the poor quarter of Milan. Nevertheless, these were only local persecutions. On the whole, the Cathari were permitted to live without great disturbances until the last quarter of the twelfth century. In the year 1125 they even gained the upper hand in Orvieto, but were defeated in a bloody struggle by the orthodox counter-revolutionaries. By 1150 they had again become strong enough to attract the attention of the bishops. About that time heresy was strong throughout Lombardy, and as in the meantime Frederick I, Barbarossa, had made peace with the Papacy, a council was summoned at Verona in 1184, where Pope Lucius III and Barbarossa promulgated a severe edict against heresy, established the episcopal inquisition, and imposed on

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the secular arm the duty of executing the inquisitorial sentences against the heretics, as well as their friends and those who favoured them. Nevertheless, Catharism flourished there. When it was suppressed in one town, it found refuge in another, as the urban authorities were not minded to become the servile hangmen of the Popes. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there were Paterenian organizations in Milan, Ferrara, Verona, Rimini, Florence, Prato, Florence, Piacenza, Treviso, and Viterbo. A Papal Bull of September 1207 commanded all believers to institute stricter local laws against heretics and to provide for their execution. Similar Bulls were issued from time to time and led to local persecutions without meeting with any general success. Lombardy, and especially Milan, formed the centre of Catharism in Europe. We have already seen that the Strassburg Waldenses were accused of sending their party contributions or even their goods to Milan. When the persecutions of the Waldenses (Albigenses) commenced in South France, many fled to Lombardy, where they found protection among their comrades.

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The Lombardian heretics had also a very comprehensive system of education. The most gifted scholars were sent to Paris to the University, in order to imbibe scholastic and theological knowledge, all the better to be able to dispute with the Church's representatives. When the Emperor Otto IV (1198-1215), in the year 1209, proceeded to Rome for his coronation, the clergy in his retinue were indignant at the fact that schools existed there for teaching the Gnostic-Manichæan doctrines (Lea, *History of Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 219).

In the year 1236 Frederick II complained of the Pope's unconcern about Milan, the breeding-ground of heresy. This complaint was largely inspired by political motives: official Milan was Guelph and opposed to the Hohenstaufers. Consequently, the Pope left it in peace.

In the thirteenth century Italian Catharism was honeycombed by the sects of Arnoldists, the Humiliati, and Waldenses, and then by the Apostolic Brethren. We will now turn our attention to these sects.

The founder of the Arnoldists was the anti-ecclesiastical agitator, Arnold of

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Brescia. He was born in the beginning of the twelfth century at Brescia, studied theology under Abelard in Paris, devoting great attention to the Bible. He imbibed the free outlook of his teacher, and, like the latter, displayed great fluency of speech. After terminating his studies, he returned to his home, became a priest, but soon entered upon a struggle against the pretensions of the clergy. He openly avowed and taught that all ownership of goods was an evil for the Church, the clergy, and the monasteries. His sermons met with tremendous response among the people, who had then had enough of bishops and priests. The matter came before the Lateran Council in 1139; the Pope removed Arnold from his office and expelled him from Italy. Arnold sought out Abelard in Paris; meanwhile, his ideas found adherents in rebellious Rome, where the bourgeoisie eventually revolted against the Pope and confiscated his possessions. The Pope issued an order that Abelard and Arnold should be shut up in a cloister and that their books should be burnt. Abelard submitted, but Arnold continued his militant activities all the more vigor-

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ously, and won such a strong following even in France that none of the French bishops ventured to carry out the Pope's sentence. It was only when the King of France was induced to take measures against Arnold that the latter left France, proceeded to Germany and Switzerland, and then returned to Italy, where his popularity was in the ascendant. In Rome the sect of Lombards (Cathari) gathered around him, and he became the focus of the entire revolutionary movement against the Papacy. "He stood forth openly as an orator in the Capitol and vigorously trounced the Pope and the Cardinals. The latter he derided as the Pharisees and scribes of Christianity. Their colleges were not the Church of God, but, on account of their ostentation, greed, hypocrisy, and depravity, was rather to be called a house of business or a den of thieves. The Pope himself was not an apostolic shepherd of souls but a bloodhound who maintained his rule by murder and fire, coerced the Church, oppressed the innocent, filled his coffers and emptied those of others." The Pope, however, could effect nothing against Arnold, who was protected by the

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Roman populace. It was only Frederick I, Barbarossa, who, proceeding in 1155 to Italy for his coronation, on the representation of the Papal See, compelled the surrender of Arnold, who was then hanged and burnt; "his ashes were ordered to be thrown into the Tiber, to prevent their being venerated." In return for this, Barbarossa was crowned Roman Emperor by Pope Hadrian IV, without the knowledge of the Romans.

Arnold's teaching was that the imitation of Christ enjoined poverty, benevolence, and service on the Pope, the Bishops, the monks, and the priests. The temporal power of the Church, her wealth, her privileges and immunities, only led to secularization: to disputes and quarrels, to politics and litigation, to intrigues and diplomatic manœuvres, and consequently to defection from Christ. Such priests were unworthy to assume the rôle of mediators between God and man, and ought not to dispense the sacrament.

Arnold left behind him numerous disciples and supporters who propagated the doctrines of their master. They met with the greatest acceptance among workers,

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who were organized in religious communities and self-help associations in the economically flourishing cities of Lombardy, and came under the influence of the Cathari, Arnoldists, and Waldenses. Soon the principle of co-operation made headway amongst them. From religious labour unions there then emerged the heretical-social sect of the Humiliati, whose ranks were chiefly recruited by the weavers of Lombardy. From the commencement of the episcopal inquisition, which was set up in pursuance of the decision of the Council of Verona (1184), they were persecuted and treated as heretics. They made common cause with the Arnoldists in the general Catharist movement, which brought them into conflict with the Dominican inquisition.

We shall deal with the Waldenses (Albigenses) in the next chapter, as they belong to France. Meanwhile, let us complete the story of the Italian social-heretics, the most remarkable of whom were the Apostolic Brethren.

Arnold's main idea that a true follower of Jesus and the Apostles must lead a life of apostolic poverty was manifestly also

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the basis of the movement which S. Francis of Assisi created. Only S. Francis remained faithful to the Papacy and thus escaped persecution. But his movement soon parted with the fundamental idea which had guided him in his enterprise. The Franciscans, with the exception of their Left Wing, went in for compromises, deviated from the rule, and made their peace with the Church. It was otherwise with the Cathari and their various sections. Those amongst them who lamented the deviation of the Franciscans from their rule as much as they deplored the Church's defection from the Gospel endeavoured to revert to the main principle. It was these men who founded the sect of Apostolic Brethren. Their leader was Gerard Segarelli.

In the year 1248 a young uneducated peasant presented himself to the Franciscans in Parma and requested admittance into the Order. He was rejected as being too much of a simpleton to become a Franciscan. The peasant did not allow himself to be discouraged. He chose the garb of the Apostles as he saw it depicted in pictures : white mantle, sandals ; let his

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beard and hair grow and began to preach : “ Repent ye and be converted, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.” He sold his belongings, put the money in a bag, and repaired to the market-place. He commenced to preach there, and as the people gathered about him he scattered the money among the bystanders and cried, “ Who wants it may take it.” He quickly won supporters who urged repentance, entered the lists against the secularized Church and announced the approach of the Kingdom of God (justice, equality, and peace). They called themselves the Apostolic Brethren, lived in poverty, toured and preached, and the people heard them gladly ; many women also joined them.

They were in closer sympathy with the sentiments of the masses than were the Franciscans. This aroused the envy of the Mendicant Orders ; the Apostolic Brethren soon became regarded as a danger to religion. At the Council of Lyons, 1274, the irregular (not sanctioned by the Pope) mendicant orders were prohibited. The latter were enjoined to attach themselves to the regular orders which already

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existed, or at least not to accept any more novitiates. In spite of the Council's decision, the sect of Apostolic Brethren grew, so much so that in 1286 a Papal Bull was issued to the whole of the archbishops and bishops to suppress the Apostolic Brethren.

The charge of heresy had already been raised against some of them. The population was summoned to hold themselves aloof from the sect. In 1294 the Dominicans began to persecute the Apostolic Brethren. Segarelli was imprisoned, and about the year 1300 delivered up to death at the stake.

His place was taken by Dolcino, who had been the real leader of the sect since Segarelli's imprisonment. He possessed a striking talent for leadership, was brave and resolute, as if born to the fray. Despite the Council decisions and Papal Bulls, he continued his public activity until he became the object of a hostile crusade. His struggles against his persecuting enemies are in their way not less worthy of admiration than those of Spartacus against the Romans. This circumstance largely explains why the accounts of

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Dolcino's life have received a romantic impress. He was supposed to have been the son of a priest who belonged to a noble house ; later he was supposed, out of love for the beautiful novice Margharita, to have hired himself as a servant in the female cloister at Trident, where he seduced her. It was further related that he proceeded to lead a roving life with his Margharita in the Trentino, preaching community of goods and women, and was also active in Dalmatia. All that is certain is that he came from the district of Novara, possessed a theological education, assiduously studied the Bible and the apostolic interpretations, was acquainted with the writings of Joachim of Floris, and had much in common with the Spiritualists. As an anti-papal Italian he may have been a Ghibelline, like Dante and other eminent Italians.

Dolcino expected and reckoned from the Bible that the years 1303 to 1306 would constitute a turning-point in the history of mankind. The Emperor would be completely victorious over the Papacy, and God would then raise up a Pope of Peace. " Around him the supporters of the

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apostolic life will rally, and God will pour out His spirit upon them ; they will increase ; the new Emperor and the Pope of Peace, who will take the place of the slain Pope (Boniface VIII), will reign till, as John prophesied, the great opponent of God once more will raise his head and the last Judgment will begin" (Hausrath, *Die Arnoldisten*, p. 346).

It was in reality the hope of the millennial kingdom, an epoch of peace, of brotherhood, and of virtue that inspired Dolcino in his work. It may be imagined how great the authority of Dolcino became when, in fact, Pope Boniface VIII was overtaken by an evil fate in the year 1303.

In despair at the unfavourable upshot of his conflict with the French King, Philip the Fair, whose soldiers would have taken him prisoner, "he died raving mad. The courtiers who came to bring him back to the Lateran palace found him gnawing a stick, in despair of God, calling on Beelzebub, dashing his head against the wall, his gray head beflecked with blood. On the 11th October 1303 he died in the Vatican, which was then to be deserted for a long time. The next pope resided in

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Perugia, and his successor in Avignon" (Hausrath). Boniface's violent end had been prophesied by Dolcino even in the lifetime of Segarelli, and the year 1303 designated as that of the papal catastrophe. Only it was not a German Emperor but a French King who triumphed over the Papacy. This incident created great support for Dolcino and strengthened his self-confidence. He repaired to his native province of Novara, where all the Catharist sections flocked to him. Soon, however, his persecution was begun by the Inquisition, which forced him to move from place to place. His friends and advocates were severely punished by the Inquisition, their houses being destroyed and their possessions confiscated. But everywhere Dolcino found secret protectors who gave him timely warning of the plans of the Inquisition. The furtive wanderings in the mountainous country north-west of Milan (in that corner which abuts on Italy, France, and Switzerland) were to come to an end in the year 1305. Dolcino resolved to offer battle to the Inquisition. At that time he was in the village of Campertolio (in Novara), whence he withdrew into the

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heart of the mountains with a crowd of his supporters. There the Apostolic Brethren built a settlement, requisitioned food, and made ready for war, as Pope Clement V, who resided at Lyons, had summoned the faithful to a crusade against the heretics of Novara.

Dolcino received early news of the advance of an army against him and resolved not to offer battle, but secretly to leave the camp with his men. When, therefore, the crusading army ascended the heights to commence the attack, it found no one there, whereupon the crusaders soon broke up and scattered. Dolcino founded a new settlement in the district of Varallo, constructed a fortress, which, by virtue of its hilly situation, was thought to be impregnable. Heretics from Savoy, Lombardy, South France, and Salzburg once more gathered around Dolcino, but the crusaders also rallied round their authorities and attacked the heretical camp. They suffered a bloody repulse, left prisoners behind which were ransomed by supplying Dolcino with provisions. A fresh attack met with the same fate. The fear aroused by the seemingly invincible heretics spread

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throughout the district. But the heretical army suffered from a shortage of food, and their necessity increased with the devastation of the district which was the theatre of war. In the spring of 1306, many of Dolcino's supporters died of exhaustion. Sickness and death invaded the camp, which was consequently abandoned in March 1306. The war, however, continued. Before August of the same year Dolcino had inflicted two defeats on the crusading army, which moved the Pope to make fresh appeals to the faithful to join in the war against Dolcino. The counts and bishops of the whole territory of Novara and Savoy organized an army of several thousand men, which was commanded by two knights. They attacked the heretics, and suffered a heavy defeat. The crusaders fled, swarmed into the outlying villages, which were plundered by the pursuing heretical soldiers. The churches and the priests especially suffered from the victoriously advancing Dolcinians. But all these victories could not save them so long as they remained cut off from the outside world, and were unable to import foodstuffs. The winter of 1306-7 brought

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severe privations to the Dolcinians. Cold and hunger depleted their ranks while the crusaders were again assembling, recruiting their strength and replenishing and augmenting their resources. On the 23rd March 1307 a decisive battle was fought on Mount Zebello. It lasted the whole day. Of the 1150 Dolcinians who were still fit to take part in the battle, a thousand lay dead on the battlefield. One hundred and fifty laid down their arms, which slipped from their hands, enfeebled by cold and hunger. Among the prisoners were Dolcino and Margharita, who were put to death under terrible tortures.

3. FRANCE—WALDENSES—LANGUEDOC— ALBIGENSES

The Treaty of Verdun (843), which completed the dismemberment of the Empire of Charlemagne, created the geographical nucleus of France. The successors of Charlemagne reigned over this territory until the year 987, but their power was so restricted and weakened by their vassals, the dukes and the counts, that in the early

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Middle Ages there was scarcely a trace of French kingship. Those entrusted with French destiny were the vassals: the individual princes. After the extinction of the Carolingians the Royal House of Capet came to the helm, and in time learned to play off the growing power of the towns and of trade against the feudal nobles and the Church, and to establish a firm French State. The industrial activity of northern France, the fairs of Champagne, and the prosperity of the towns and ports in southern France (Languedoc) created a strong chain which riveted the north, the centre, and the south to each other, and formed a uniform geographical district which furnished the Capets with the economic basis for their centralistic national policy.

The rapid growth of economic interests in Church and State created, as everywhere, an antagonistic tendency among those sections of the people of whom some suffered from economic oppression and others from spiritual hunger.

The opposing current joined the general Gospel stream which irrigated the heretical-social movements. Catharist influences, as

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we know, made themselves manifest in France in the first quarter of the eleventh century and exercised a salutary social and moral influence. The propaganda of Arnold of Brescia wrought in a similar direction and awakened many to the necessity of social reform labours;¹ but it was only the appearance of the Lyons merchant, Peter Waldus, in the year 1170 or 1173, that created a genuinely French heretical-social movement which attained large dimensions and spread to Italy, Germany, and Bohemia.

This was the Waldensian movement.

¹ How these influences worked, and what good repute the Cathari enjoyed in northern France is shown by the following case, which occurred about the year 1180 at Rheims, and concerning which one of those who took part in it left a report behind. Gervasius of Tilbury, a young priest of Rheims, was riding one afternoon with his archbishop. His favourable notice was attracted by a young, comely, female person, who was working alone in a vineyard. He immediately made amorous advances towards her, but his overtures were rejected, with the explanation that to act in this wise would be a sin, for which she would be condemned without pardon. In this declaration by the girl, the archbishop perceived a manifest sign of membership of the Catharist movement, and caused the girl heretic to be imprisoned. She was accused, but remained steadfast during the whole trial, and was finally burnt alive (Lea, *History of Inquisition*, vol. i.).

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Its founder, Peter Waldus, was a rich merchant of Lyons who, although uninstructed, desired to investigate the truths of the Bible at their sources. He therefore had the Bible translated into Romance language by learned men, and likewise had extracts made from the Church Fathers, and studied them with great enthusiasm. He did not stop at the study of these things, but proceeded to practise what he had learned. He chose a life without property, allowed his wife, who remained in the old faith, to select a portion of the property, divided the rest among the poor, and began to preach the doctrines of the apostles and of primitive Christianity. He soon found numerous supporters who called themselves "the poor men of Lyons," adopted a particular mode of dress, and followed their leader. It is clear that the beginnings of the Waldenses were very similar to those of the Franciscan Order, which was founded about a generation later. But while the latter was sanctioned by the Pope and became a constituent part of the Church, the Papal See definitely refused the friendship of the Waldenses, and drove them involuntarily into heresy. It is

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possible that the Papal See, chastened by the fate of the Waldenses, had become wiser, and therefore disarmed S. Francis of Assisi by friendship.

In the year 1179 the Waldenses sent a deputation to the Lateran Council (Rome) to secure papal sanction for their propaganda. The Waldenses were there examined and ridiculed by the English prelate, Walter Map. He made merry over their ignorance and recommended that the papal sanction be refused them. Abused by the Church, the Waldenses soon came into contact with the Cathari and formed a section of the heretical-social movement. At the Council of Verona, which Frederick Barbarossa attended, they were classed among the heretics and condemned. A detailed exposition of their doctrines is given by the Dominican Bernard Guidonis in his *Practica Inquisitionis* (1331), one of the chief sources of Catharist history. The Waldenses were divided into the Perfect and the Friends or Believers, the former being the teachers and leaders. On embracing Waldensianism, they placed their property into the common stock of the movement, from which they received

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the necessary means of life ; and when the common resources did not suffice, the friends and believers or the simple comrades lent assistance.

This they did gladly, for the Waldenses were distinguished by great virtues. When a Waldensian accused before the Inquisition of Toulouse was asked what his teachings were, he answered : " Neither to utter nor to do evil, to do to none what one would not have done to himself ; neither to tell a lie nor to swear an oath." The inquisitor among the Pomeranian Waldenses in the year 1394 received a similar answer. The most fanatical opponent of the sect could find nothing derogatory to report touching the morals of these heretics. One inquisitor who knew them very well described them in the following terms : " The heretics can be recognized by their morals and their speech, for they are modest and live in well-ordered relationships. They are not ostentatious in their clothing, which is neither costly nor soiled. To avoid lies, oaths, and deceits, they refrain from engaging in trade, but live by the labour of their hands. Shoemakers are their

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teachers. They do not heap up treasures, but are content if they have what is necessary. They are chaste and temperate in eating and drinking. They do not visit inns or balls or other resorts of pleasure. They abstain from anger, labour constantly, teach and learn, consequently they indulge in few prayers. They may be recognized by their modesty and their careful language, as they particularly avoid vulgarities, calumnies, and frivolous speeches." Everywhere they had translations of the Bible, and they learned entire passages thereof by heart. The inquisitor of Passau knew a peasant Waldensian who could repeat the Book of Job word for word. The laborious men and women who belonged to this sect used, after a hard day's work, to meet together in order to devote their evenings to study. And if a number of comrades found it difficult to follow or profit by the instruction, the teachers used to say: "Learn one word every day, then thou wilt know three hundred and sixty words in a year, and thus shall we triumph."

True to their convictions to the end, thousands of Waldenses went joyfully to

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the stake, endured with unshakable fortitude the horrors of the dungeon and the torture chambers, merely that they might testify to their faith.

The most widely spread sect in the thirteenth century, the Waldenses were especially strong in Languedoc (S. France).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Languedoc was the freest and happiest country in Europe. Trade and industry, art and science, flourished in the towns. Narbonne, Toulouse, Albi, Beziers, Carcassonne were centres of research and thought. The treasures of the free Arabian philosophy in South Spain were known in Languedoc through the medium of Jewish translators. All religious tendencies found equal protection there. The cities enjoyed a large measure of self-government. The dukes of Aquitaine, the counts of Toulouse and Provence, zealously guarded their rights and privileges from the Church and the French Monarchy.

In this then highly civilized and blissful country the Cathari found at an early period many supporters. The population called them *bos homes* (*bonnes hommes*, good men). Then came the Waldenses,

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who received the necessary freedom of propaganda. Thence they spread their doctrines to Lombardy, Tyrol, Salzburg, and South Germany; Metz, Strassburg, and Passau.

It seems that the doctrines of the Waldenses in Languedoc assumed less a socialistic than an anti-clerical character. In the atmosphere of social freedom and of the friendly co-operation of all classes—even the nobles there were to a large extent Waldensian and often lived in hostility to the clergy—the heretical propaganda laid little stress upon social-economic criticism and became chiefly anti-ecclesiastical. The headquarters of southern French Waldensianism was the town of Albi, and consequently the Waldenses were generally called Albigenses.

The spread of Waldensianism in Languedoc alarmed the ecclesiastical authorities. A thoroughgoing inquisition in the district was for the time being not to be thought of, as almost the entire population was against the interference of the bishops, and forcibly ejected any inquisitors who distinguished themselves by special ardour. Consequently, the Church resorted to the

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means of crusades against the southern French heretics. All the faithful were summoned to participate in the holy war at the price of absolution for their sins. In 1180 the first crusade against southern France was undertaken, but it effected nothing whatever, as the counts of Languedoc repulsed the attack. In 1195 Count Raymond VI of Toulouse was put under the papal ban, but this measure also was unsuccessful. The Church then dispatched spiritual missions to Languedoc to convert the heretics. To one of these missions belonged Dominic de Guzman, the founder of the Dominican Order. These endeavours too were fruitless. The Church again resorted to the means of crusades and enjoined the crusading army to observe the motto of *divide et impera*, that is, not to begin the holy war by attacking the powerful count of Toulouse, but first to attack the weaker districts in detail. The holy war was begun in the year 1209 with great energy under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. Beziers and Carcassonne were stormed. At the storming of Beziers and Carcassonne thousands of Waldensian and Catholic inhabitants lost their lives. In

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the general slaughter, both heretics and true believers fell victims to the sword of the crusaders.

When, at the storming of Beziers, the crusaders manifested a certain degree of hesitation to make the slaughter general, because good Catholics might also be killed, the papal legate, the Abbot Arnold de Citeaux, exhorted them: "*Cædite eos, novit enim Dominus, qui sunt ejus*" (Kill all, for God will find His own).

But the end of the war was still a long way off. The Waldensian movement revived again and again. Crusading armies continued to embark on new campaigns until the year 1244, when the French Monarchy intervened, as its centralizing policy aimed at destroying the powerful and practically independent counts of Languedoc and to bring southern France under the dominion of the Crown. After 1232 it was possible to set up a systematic inquisition under the direction of the Dominicans. Eventually Crusaders and Dominicans succeeded in completely extirpating the Albigenses, but the price of this victory was the devastation of southern France. The inheritor of the

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counts of Languedoc was not the Church but the House of Capet—the French kings who half a century later imprisoned the Pope and held his successors in captivity in Avignon (1309–1377).

Summarizing the results of the persecution of the Albigenses, Lea says in his *History of the Mediæval Inquisition* (vol. ii. p. 119) :

“ In the twelfth century the south of France had been the most flourishing land of Europe. . . . The Crusaders came, and their unfinished work was taken up to the bitter end by the Inquisition. It left a ruined and impoverished country, with shattered industry and failing commerce. The native nobles were broken by confiscation and replaced by strangers who occupied the soil, introducing the harsh customs of northern feudalism or the despotic principles of Roman Law in the extensive domains acquired by the Crown. A people of rare natural gifts had been tortured, decimated, humiliated, despoiled for a century and more. The precocious civilization which had promised to lead Europe in the path of culture was gone,

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and to Italy was transferred the honour of the Renaissance. In return for this was unity of faith and a Church which had been hardened and vitiated and secularized in the strife."

The Inquisition in France performed its work so thoroughly that for centuries to come social heresy could not strike root there again.

The influence of the Waldenses upon the Church and the people was nevertheless highly significant. Under the influence of their propaganda the mendicant orders arose, just as in our time the Christian social movement followed hard upon the social democratic movement. The Waldensian influence operated with notable force in Bohemia and furnished intellectual weapons to the revolutionary sections in the Hussite wars.

4. FLANDERS—BEGUINS AND BEGHARDS— LOLLARDS

Information concerning the Catharist movement in Flanders is not forthcoming until the twelfth century, and therefore

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at a much later period than is the case with the movements in Lombardy and southern France. From this circumstance it must not be inferred that the heretical-social movement in Flanders did not commence until late. The reason for the belated information must rather be sought in the fact that in Flanders a certain tolerance had prevailed, and that in consequence inquisitorial processes which would have supplied us with the necessary documents about the movement did not take place there until the eleventh century. We have already noted from the writings of Bishop Wazo of Liège that heretical persecutions were not popular in Flanders.

Social ideas and associations as well as Gnostic - Manichæan doctrines, however, met with early acceptance among the labouring populations of the Flemish towns, the seats of flourishing industry, and the centres of wide trade connections. The designation of the Cathari as *Textores* (weavers), which was current in the eleventh century, came from Flanders. The Flemish Cathari sharply distinguished between the God of the Old and the God of the New Testament, and with the former, the God

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of the Law, they would have nothing to do. The good God of the New Testament alone was the true God, who desired to be served in spirit, not by ceremonies and sacraments, and not in houses built by men. They laid the greatest stress on good works. In their avocations they were uncommonly diligent, and, following the Sermon on the Mount, they rejected the swearing of oaths and the death penalty. Chastity was one of their chief virtues. Primitive Christian conditions were their ideal.

The heretical-social sects peculiar to Flanders were the Beguins and the Beghards. Much has been written and disputed concerning the origin and appellation of these sects. Some writers trace them to a certain Lambert le Begue (Lambert the Stammerer), a Liége priest who, about the year 1180, set on foot a vigorous agitation against the secularization of the Church and the venality of the priestly offices. He was imprisoned and slain by the priests. A few years before, he is supposed to have organized a number of women in a kind of cenobitic lay sisterhood. It is, however, most probable that the

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designation Beguins and Beghards was derived from an old Saxon verb *beg*. The Beguins were consequently a female lay order whose members lived in apostolic poverty and were dependent on charity.

The existence of such organizations among single women indicates either that many men abstained from marriage under the influence of Catharist doctrines or, as is frequently contended, that a shortage of men was caused by the great losses in the crusades,¹ resulting in a large excess of women.

It is probable that both factors combined to induce women to create their own organizations, which at that time were only possible on a religious basis. The monastic system was the model. For the duration of their lives they promised to live in chastity and obedience, to contribute by labour or by begging to their common maintenance, and at all times to exercise the duties of hospitality and nursing. Their cenobiums were called Beguin farms. Strict adherence to cloistral life, however,

¹ Flemish crusades were undertaken in the years 1138, 1148, 1157, and 1163. Flemish soldiers fought in the front ranks at the capture of Constantinople.

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could neither be expected nor exacted, as the associations were voluntary.

In course of time this example was followed by men who formed Beghardian houses. Unmarried labouring men who wished to lead a life of piety joined together in labour associations, lived and worked in co-operation, studied the Bible and pondered on God and the world. Like the Waldenses, they were distinguished by their diligence, efficiency, and economy; they enjoyed general respect, and were especially popular among the poorer sections of the flourishing industrial cities of Flanders. The organizations of the Beghards were very similar to those of the Humiliati of the Lombardian cities. There were, however, Beguins and Beghards to whom the settled and more or less co-operative life of the cenobium seemed inadequate, inasmuch as a communal economy presupposed common property and common ownership, and ownership in itself was less in consonance with the teachings of Christ than apostolic poverty or the entire absence of possessions.

Here we perceive the same internal conflict that manifested itself within the

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Franciscan Order. The Beguins and Beghards who thought in this wise preferred the roving life of mendicant propaganda.

The treatment which the ecclesiastical authorities meted out to the two classes of Beghards varied. While the settled, co-operative Beghards were generally encouraged and received support from the bishops and pious nobles, although they were also put under strict discipline, the wandering Beghards and Beguins were soon regarded as heretical, and exposed to the most ruthless persecution. In the course of their travels, they came into contact with the various sections of Cathari, whereby they were drawn into the entire anti-clerical and antinomian movement. They absorbed Amalrician, free-thinking, pantheistic doctrines as well as the millennial conceptions of the Left Wing Franciscans.

The Beghards and Beguins rapidly spread throughout the Rhine valley. About the middle of the thirteenth century they were already strongly represented in Cologne, Mainz, Strassburg, and Metz. Their further history was enacted in Germany, and

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will be referred to in the following chapter.

One of the associations related to these brotherhoods was that of the Lollards, who are supposed to have arisen about the year 1300 in Antwerp. Their members devoted themselves to the care of the insane and the sick, but chiefly to the burial of the dead. The money necessary for this purpose was acquired partly by labour and partly by begging. Their first appearance in the heretical-social movement dated from the end of the fourteenth century in England, and the further treatment of this subject belongs to this stage in our narrative.

5. GERMANY : WALDENSES, BEGUINS AND BEGHARDS, ORTLIEBENSES, BRETHREN OF THE FREE SPIRIT—THE GERMAN MYSTICS, THE BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LOT

Germany did not produce any indigenous heretical-social movement. Whatever of this movement appeared in Germany was of foreign origin.

The German bishops and authorities

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were at first little inclined to set up courts of the Inquisition. It is possible that the struggle between Emperor and Pope had as its consequence here a certain degree of toleration towards deviating opinions in matters of faith. In any case, it is an ascertained fact that, apart from a few exceptions, the systematic fanaticism which raged so fearfully in France and Spain did not characterize the German authorities, priests, and monks. The German codes of that time contain no reference to the establishment of an inquisition. It is true that the old Saxon Law Code (compiled about 1230), which embodied the law of northern Germany, prescribed death by burning for unbelievers, poisoners, and sorcerers, but it says nothing about a special juridical process to be carried out by an inquisition. While the Swabian code of laws (about 1270), which comprised the law of southern Germany, subjected the heretic to episcopal jurisdiction, it protected accused persons from malicious denunciations: the accusers were threatened with punishment at the stake if they could not prove their charges.

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In the eleventh century Bulgar-Lombardian Catharism found in Goslar and its neighbourhood isolated supporters who paid for their faith with their lives.

Deeper roots were struck by the Waldenses, the Beguins and Beghards, as well as by the Brethren of the Free Spirit.

As early as the year 1199 Pope Innocent III addressed a summons to the Waldenses of Metz to surrender their writings in the vernacular. As they ignored the summons, the Pope sent three abbots to Metz, who succeeded in getting hold of the heretical writings and burning them. Nevertheless, the Waldenses continued their propaganda unmolested. A few years later Bishop Bertrand of Metz preached against them, but the citizens of the town turned a deaf ear to the preacher and protected the Waldenses against all persecutions.

As already indicated, the Waldenses of Strassburg were not so fortunate about the year 1213, and among other things were accused of having goods in common and practising free love. Several of the accused were condemned to die at the stake. In 1229 further proceedings were

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taken against heretics in Strassburg, which led to years of persecution. The steadfast heretics were burnt. Those who recanted were subjected to ecclesiastical punishment, albeit they escaped with their lives.

But meanwhile Conrad of Marburg functioned as inquisitor and demonstrated to the Germans what this institution was really capable of. Conrad was a lay priest who had long been known to the Pope as a judge of heretics and an agitator on behalf of the Crusades. In 1227 he received instructions from Pope Gregory IX to exterminate heresy in Germany and effect the purification of the German Church. In his letter to Conrad, the Pope bewailed the sorry state of the German priesthood: the latter was given over to lust and gluttony, habitually committing crimes which were condemned by the laity. A reform was urgently needed, and Conrad was the man to undertake it. At the same time he was appointed confessor and pastor to the wife of the Landgrave of Thuringia. Nothing was heard of the Church reforms which Conrad was supposed to have undertaken. His duties

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as confessor and judge of heretics seem to have occupied his whole time. Soon multitudes of heretics were discovered, and the German bishops were incited by the Pope to carry out ruthlessly the edicts against heretics. Conrad was invested with comprehensive powers and he set to work. No section of the population was secure from persecution for heresy. If a malicious person denounced his neighbour, it was sufficient to bring dire calamity upon the latter's whole family. The most foolish stories were credited by Conrad when they provided him with an opportunity to bring accused heretics to the stake or to put them to the torture.

Finally Conrad behaved so outrageously that the archbishops of Treves and Cologne implored him to conduct himself with more moderation in such an important position. But moderation was foreign to his nature. In the year 1232, acting on a denunciation, he went so far as to lay the charge of heresy against the counts of Arnsberg, Looz, and Sayn in the diocese of Treves. Conrad thirsted for the laurels of the inquisitors of southern France, who had humbled the counts of Langue-

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doc. He overlooked the fact that the national development in France and in Germany proceeded on lines that were diametrically opposed. While in France the growing tendency was towards national centralization and the dependence of the nobles upon the Crown; in Germany the process was reversed. There the privileges of princes and dukes multiplied, while the kingly power became weaker, and could not deal with the nobles like the French Crown dealt with the counts of Toulouse. The German counts thus accused were not intimidated by Conrad, but caused the Archbishop of Mainz to summon a council which would decide the affair. As important persons were involved, many princes and bishops accepted King Henry's invitation, so much so that the assembly which met in July 1233 resembled a Reichstag more than a church council. The Count of Sayn pleaded not guilty, and requested that the charge should be supported by evidence. The inquisitor Conrad at once felt that the game was up. Some of the witnesses he had called said nothing at all, and others declared that they had supported the accusation out of fear of

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Conrad. The Council transformed itself into a tribunal for judging the inquisitor. The whole matter was adjourned to allow of a report thereon being sent to Rome. Quite beside himself through this defeat, Conrad left the Council and immediately began to preach the crusade against the heretics in the streets of Mainz. Then he rode back to Marburg with his companions, but never reached his home. In the neighbourhood of the town several nobles were waiting in ambush for him, and he was slain on the 30th July 1233. Germany breathed more easily as if after the death of the worst of tyrants.

In the year 1248 we hear of a heretical-social demonstration on the heights of Hall (Swabia), which was allowed to take place unmolested. Waldensianism was widely diffused in the diocese of Passau, which comprised the whole of eastern Bavaria and northern Austria (from Bohemia to Steiermark). Here the Waldenses had forty-one schools or communes, chiefly in villages. Their members belonged almost exclusively to the peasant and handicraft classes. The movement had much to suffer from the Inquisition

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in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Then we hear nothing more of the Waldenses for a hundred years, as the Church was occupied in extirpating the Beguins and Beghards. During this interval the Waldenses multiplied until it was their turn to be exposed to persecution. About the year 1390, several Waldenses were thrown into the episcopal prison in Mainz. Under stress of torture they revealed the names of a few of the comrades, who were then delivered up to the secular arm. In the year 1392, thirty-six Waldenses were burnt alive in Bingen. Simultaneously Waldenses were discovered in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Hungary, Bavaria, Swabia, Steiermark, Saxony, and Pomerania. About the year 1315 the Waldenses counted 80,000 members in Austria.

One of the inquisitors, the Dominican Arnold, was slain in the chancel at Krems in 1318. Two decades later (1338) relatives of persecuted Waldenses killed a large number of inquisitors and their assistants. In 1397 about a thousand Waldenses were imprisoned in Steyer. One hundred of these were put to death at the stake. In

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the fifteenth century the persecution of heretics in Germany petered out.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Church had embarked upon the persecution of Beguins and Beghards. In 1310 provincial councils were held in Treves and Mainz, and decided to take severe measures against Beguins and Beghards. At that time the Beghards had attained to great strength in the Rhine valley. They devoted special attention to the recognized mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans), disputed with them openly, to all appearances with great success, inasmuch as in 1308 the General of the Franciscan Order dispatched the most eminent member of the Order, John Duns Scotus, to Cologne, in order to organize a counter-propaganda. The Beguins were less fortunate in Paris, where the Beguin Margarete Porete of Hainault was burnt alive, enduring her martyrdom with unshakable steadfastness. A series of ordinances was issued by Pope Clement V (1305-1314), and was enforced by his successor, John XXII, in the year 1317. Many Beguin institutions were dissolved, the inhabitants being thrown into the

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streets and their common possessions confiscated. Poor and abandoned, many of these women resorted to prostitution. In the second decade of the fourteenth century great persecutions of the Beghards took place in the diocese of Mainz. In 1319 John XXII complained that the ordinances of Clement were not enforced in Strassburg. In 1321 he stated in a decree that in several parts of Germany "so-called Beguins dwell in great multitudes, living in common and wearing a special dress." He accused them of making their pious mode of life a deceptive cloak, and demanded their dispersion.

Since 1320 the Beghards of Cologne had been exposed to severe persecutions. Their antagonist was Archbishop Heinrich of Cologne, who also denounced Master Eckehard. In 1325 a large number of Beghards appeared before the Episcopal Court to answer the charge of diffusing heretical doctrines and practising free love. Some fifty of the defendants remained steadfast and were sentenced. They were put to death by the secular arm, either by being burned at the stake or by being drowned in the Rhine. In consequence of the

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heresy trial the Dutch Lollard Walter, one of the most capable of the Beghard missionaries, attracted considerable notice. His speeches and writings, couched in popular, generally intelligible language, showed great proselytizing zeal on behalf of the Beghardian doctrines. In the year 1327—the year of Master Eckehard's death—he was imprisoned and subjected to the most horrible tortures, but his firmness could not be shaken; he made no sign and revealed no name. After the sentence he awaited his fate with a serene mind. Joyfully he walked to the stake and perished in the flames. In all the Cologne trials the idea came uppermost that their sole object was to furnish the archbishop with incriminating evidence against Master Eckehard and to bring him to the stake.

In the course of their development the Beguins and Beghards absorbed doctrines which were derived from Amalrician sources. Some persons who were condemned as Beghards really belonged to the Brethren of the Free Spirit, or to that section which was pantheist and antinomian, and which doubtless attracted people who desired to

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live as supermen beyond good and evil. This tendency was too much mixed up with the heretical-social movement, and was similar to the connection of anarchism with socialism in our own day. The pantheistic-antinomian tendency which, as before observed, took rise in Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century seems, however, to have influenced German mysticism considerably more than did any other heretical tendency of the time.

The man who introduced these doctrines into Germany soon after their origination was a certain Ortlieb of Strassburg, and they found supporters in cultured circles. We know already that the Amalrician doctrine held that God interpenetrated the whole of nature and operated as a creative force in all modes of existence. The soul of man is the divine spark. Accordingly, man is a part of the world-creating force and thus is not such a poor, helpless, utterly evil being as the Church teaches; he therefore needs no sacraments, no special mediator to save him, no ecclesiastical ceremonies or dogmas or other instruments of terror.

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After the death of the human body the soul as part of the Godhead returns to it, without being obliged to traverse any fantastic states of martyrdom such as purgatory and hell. Man must become conscious of this fact in order to feel himself a part of the Holy Spirit, or, as we should say to-day, in order to live as a noble anarchist. When man attains to a consciousness of oneness with God, he cannot sin at all, as the divine nature operating through him excludes sinfulness. To the pure all things are pure. All actions, sights, and opinions are permitted him, as his intentions flow from a pure source, from a divine spring. Such a man stands above the law.

The Ortliebenses appealed to S. Paul, who, in his spiritual struggles for emancipation from Old Testament legalism, said: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and of death" (Rom. viii. 1 and 2). Further: "But if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law" (Gal. v. 18).

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Finally: "As knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient" (1 Tim. i. 9). This profound view of the Apostle to the heathen about the essence of legality is similar to the Gnostic conception of the Pneumatics. It would exert no bad effects upon religious and moral men like Master Eckehard. But it is most likely that the Brethren of the Free Spirit or the Ortliebians in Germany turned the heads of many poor Beguins and many simple Beghards. The charges which the Inquisition levelled against many heretics on account of sexual excesses may not have been entirely unfounded, but so far as these delinquencies were committed they were in my opinion chiefly due to the influence of the Amalricians and the Ortliebians.

There was no trace of communism in the doctrines of the Ortliebians and of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. They were indeed against private property not in order to replace it by common ownership and co-operative labour, but in order to invest the superman with a divine right over all things. He ought to be able to

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have free access to all worldly goods, without labour, without any tie.

Master Eckehard's ideas had much in common with the pantheistic and antinomian doctrines of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but he rejected the conclusions they drew from these doctrines. To the last he championed apostolic poverty, and his spirit rejoiced at having overcome all the temptations of the flesh. His famous disciples, the German mystic Heinrich Suso (d. 1361) and Johann Tauler (d. 1361), lived in strict simplicity: it was their conviction that the (mystic) unity of man with God is only possible if man is absolutely free of all transitory things. Their Dutch contemporary and comrade, Jan van Ruysbroeck (1294-1381), propagated similar doctrines. In contrast to the anarchist-individualist conclusions which the Brethren of the Free Spirit drew from their pantheistic-Amalrician doctrines, the mystics related to Master Eckehard practised either apostolic poverty or lived under cenobite rule. Ruysbroeck's disciple, Gerhard Groot of Deventer (1340-1384), founded the communistic association of the Brethren of the Common Lot, avowedly

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in opposition to the Brethren of the Free Spirit. Groot, however, was not immune from the taint of heresy-hunting. When the Inquisition, about the year 1370, again stretched its tentacles across Germany, a number of the Brethren of the Free Spirit fled to Holland, where they hoped to find a favourable soil for their pantheistic doctrines. Groot, however, was induced to accuse them of heresy, and he became a fanatical persecutor. It was only his premature death which protected Holland from the terrors of the Inquisition.

The association of the Brethren of the Common Lot which he founded had a prosperous career under the direction of Groot's successors. The members of this brotherhood were not bound by vows, but lived under a régime of common property and co-operative labour, studied theology, copied old manuscripts, or prepared themselves for priestly offices. The Brotherhood spread through the Netherlands and northern Germany. Among those who were taught at their communal home at Windesheim were Thomas à Kempis, the famous author of the *Imitatio Christi*,

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and Erasmus of Rotterdam, the great humanist, champion of primitive Christian communism and friend of Sir Thomas More. The young Luther spent a year in the settlement of the Brotherhood at Magdeburg.

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